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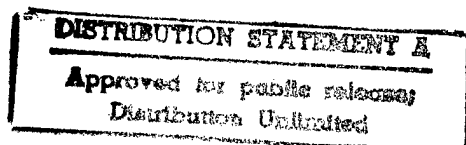


# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Asia**

### ***Southeast Asia***

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# East Asia Southeast Asia

JPRS-SEA-91-011

## CONTENTS

26 April 1991

### CAMBODIA

#### STATE OF CAMBODIA

Thai Agents for Hotel, Tourism Noted [Bangkok THE NATION 4 Mar] .....	1
---	---

### INDONESIA

#### ECONOMIC

Business Researcher Gives 'Capital Flight' Figures [BISNIS INDONESIA 12 Mar] .....	2
Private Companies To Build Coal Port [BISNIS INDONESIA 14 Mar] .....	3
Banker Sees Economic Problems, Opportunities [BISNIS INDONESIA 13 Mar] .....	4
Easing of Tight Money Gradual [KOMPAS 21 Mar] .....	5
Timor Gap Exploration Begins [KOMPAS 21 Mar] .....	6
Armed Forces Chief Says Poverty Still Top Problem [KOMPAS 18 Mar] .....	7

### MALAYSIA

#### POLITICAL

Future of Spirit of '46 in Question [UTUSAN MALAYSIA 14 Mar] .....	9
UMNO Forms Branches in Sabah, Enrolls USNO Members [UTUSAN MALAYSIA 12 Mar] .....	9

#### MILITARY

Defense Ties With Brunei Strengthened [UTUSAN MALAYSIA 13 Mar] .....	10
--	----

#### ECONOMIC

Agriculture Still Important to National Economy [BERITA HARIAN 12 Mar] .....	10
--	----

### PHILIPPINES

Congress May Decrease Import Levy [DIYARYO FILIPINO 8 Mar] .....	12
NDF-CPP-NPA Shadow Government Established [DIYARYO FILIPINO 12 Mar] .....	12

### THAILAND

#### POLITICAL

Interior Ministry Permanent Secretary Profiled [MATICHON 27 Feb] .....	14
Police Chief, NPC Member Profiled [MATICHON 24 Feb] .....	14
Politicians' Property Holdings Profiled [MATICHON 4-10 Mar] .....	15
Politicians Face Assets Seizure, Procedures Noted .....	16
Investigation Committee, Process Described [THAI RAT 26 Feb] .....	16
Committee Members Profiled [MATICHON 26 Feb] .....	18
Committee Chair Sitthi Interviewed [MATICHON 26 Feb] .....	19
End to Anti-Communist Law Sought [KHAO PHISSET 18-24 Feb] .....	22

#### MILITARY

Suchinda Discusses Reasons for Coup, Prospects [NAEO NA 25 Feb] .....	23
Army Units Participating in Coup [NAEO NA 25 Feb] .....	27

**ECONOMIC**

Conglomerate Plans Ho Chi Minh City Glass Plant	[BANGKOK POST 15 Mar]	27
Police: Investigations Launched on IPR Violations	[BANGKOK POST 26 Mar]	28
Commerce Asked To Reset Export Targets	[THE NATION 13 Mar]	29

**VIETNAM**

**POLITICAL**

Former NHAN DAN Editor Bui Tin Interviewed in Paris	[Paris QUE ME Jan-Feb]	30
Article Stresses People Factor on Party Platform	[NHAN DAN 22 Feb]	35

**SOCIAL**

Lack of Calmness Seen in 1990 Literature Scene	[NHAN DAN CHU NHAT 3 Mar]	36
Human Rights Committee Reports Arrests of Intellectuals	[Paris QUE ME Jan-Feb]	39

**BIOGRAPHIC**

Information on Vietnamese Personalities		39
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## STATE OF CAMBODIA

### Thai Agents for Hotel, Tourism Noted

91SE0204A Bangkok THE NATION in English  
4 Mar 91 p B3

[Text] Phnom Penh's Hotel Cambodiana, perhaps one of the few hotels in the world to claim full occupancy during the Gulf War, has appointed a number of new agents because of the increasing number of business travellers and tourists being drawn to Cambodia.

While Vacation Planners Co. will remain the hotel's major representative in Thailand, Thaisinn Express Co. will also handle bookings. Another Thai company SMI Travel Co. will represent the hotel in Japan.

A third Thai company, Transindo Co. will help with the provision of direct charter flights to Phnom Penh.

At the moment five charter flights go directly to the Cambodian capital from Bangkok, using Bangkok Airways' planes.

Thaisinn Express is an inbound tour operator, dealing mainly with Japanese tour groups, while Transindo is an affiliate of Indoswiss, a trading company operating in Indochina.

In operation for only eight months, Hotel Cambodiana, Phnom Penh's only international standard hotel, is in the process of renovating 270 rooms to add to the 110 now open.

It expects to have the new rooms ready for occupancy by the end of this year.

Its new marketing move is also linked to the plan by the Tourism Authority of Thailand to promote Bangkok as the tourism hub of Indochina.

"Tours to Indochina, including to Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia, have been operating for some years now. But I must say that the region is difficult to penetrate without strong cooperative efforts by those connected to the industry," said Somsak Burapapithak, director of Vacation Planners (Thailand) Co., at a press conference to announce the agents' appointments.

Said Anake Srishevachart, managing director of Thaisinn Express: "It's time to explore new markets which will help Thailand to be the gateway to the region."

"Despite the tourism downturn in Thailand, the hotel has had full occupancy during the Gulf War as there are many business travellers seeking trade opportunities in Indochina," said Bert Kan, the general manager of Hotel Cambodiana.

In its first six months of operation, Hotel Cambodiana had only a 20 per cent occupancy rate. But this is now averaging 75 per cent.

"There is no established tourism season in Cambodia, but for us November to February is the peak time," Kan said.

## ECONOMIC

**Business Researcher Gives 'Capital Flight' Figures**

91SE0201C Jakarta *BISNIS INDONESIA*  
in Indonesian 12 Mar 91 p 6

[Article by Thomas Wibisono, researcher at the Indonesian Business Data Center: "Capital Flight, Overseas Investments"]

[Text] It is difficult to say whether a person or company making an investment overseas is involved in capital flight or in capital investment.

The term "capital flight" was coined by the industrialized countries to describe the flow of domestic funds out of a country. On the other hand, funds invested in the developing countries by the multinational corporations of industrialized countries are called a form of capital investment.

It is clear that the term "capital flight" is normally used with a negative and unpatriotic connotation. It is negative because capital flight is much performed by embezzlers or other people who obtain money illegally to prevent investigation of domestic sources. It is called unpatriotic because the funds are used for personal advantage while the domestic economy is lacking in funds.

**Serious Problem**

For developing countries, where there is still great dependence on foreign aid, the high level of capital flight is a serious and distressing problem.

As examples, the writer has selected estimated data from the book *Capital Flight and Third World Debt* (edited by Donald R. Lessard and John Williamson). During the 10 years from 1974 to 1984, capital flight from seven Latin American countries—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela—reached \$69.3 billion.

World Bank estimates of capital flight, which the writer took from the same source, show more distressing conditions. During the eight years from 1976 to 1984, capital flight from Mexico was estimated at \$53.6 million.

During the same period, capital flight from Brazil amounted to \$18.7 billion and from Venezuela \$30.5 billion. In Asia, capital flight from South Korea was noted as \$7.6 billion and from the Philippines \$5 billion.

Unfortunately, the latest capital flight data from developing countries are not available. The book mentioned above did not include figures on capital flight from ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] countries other than the Philippines.

Through a simple calculation, however, an estimate may be made from ACU (Asian currency unit) figures from

Singapore. The ACU, a facility like the ECU [European currency unit] in Europe, is provided by the Singapore Government to enable non-Singapore people or legal entities to open foreign currency accounts. Last year the ACU reached \$347 billion. It had risen rapidly from the \$30-million level it had at the time it was first introduced in 1968.

If funds accommodated by the ACU facility are likened to capital flight from countries outside Singapore, the size of the flow of funds can be seen.

Supposing that a half of all funds parked in Singapore come from ASEAN countries other than Singapore, money from these ASEAN nations total \$173.5 billion. Supposing, too, that merely five percent of all these funds originated from the accounts of Indonesian citizens, funds deposited in the names of Indonesians total about \$17.35 billion.

Rumors of capital flight have been heard again recently in connection with the trend toward large overseas investments by our conglomerates.

A recent case—occurring at the end of 1990 and much publicized in Singapore and Indonesia—was the Salim Group's big investment (\$291.2 million [Singapore dollars]) in Singapore through the acquisition of the United Industrial Corporation (UIC), of which majority ownership was previously in the hands of Oei Hong Leong, son of Eka Tjipta Wijaya.

According to latest reports, Bakrie and Brothers Group through its subsidiary PT [Limited Company] United Sumatra Plantations has acquired the British company Lewis and Peat, which operates in the international rubber trade, for the purpose of controlling the commodity it sells (natural rubber).

**Identifying the Players**

When we observe the actions of our conglomerates during recent years, we see them as increasingly energetic, quick, perceptive, and skillful at taking advantage of opportunities. Within the country, almost all industrial sectors, upstream and downstream, from simple items like toothpicks and instant noodles to high technology products, get the attention of the Indonesian conglomerates. This gives the impression that the conglomerates are greedy.

Last year, when the capital market was booming, many subsidiaries of conglomerates went public to get cheap funds from the public.

Following their success in penetrating the capital market, the market became sluggish, and tight money policies caused domestic interest rates to go up. The Indonesian conglomerates then moved toward "going international."

"Going international" by investing overseas is not entirely an Indonesian phenomenon but is universal and occurs in all countries. Businessmen, conglomerates or

not, in other countries do the same thing if they feel that foreign investment will be profitable.

It was not a new thing when our conglomerates sought new opportunities during capital market sluggishness and luckily found those opportunities overseas. Our businessmen and conglomerates have long been doing this.

Oei Tiong Ham and the Kian Gwan Concern did it during their heyday. Liem Sioe Liong gained a foothold in Singapore in 1967 by forming Singapore Indusco Holding. In fact, Edward Soeryadjaya began the Summa Group—while still in college—by setting up the Summa International Bank in Vanuatu (but domiciled in Manila) with guidance and capital of \$25,000 from his father. Only later did the company spread its wings to Indonesia and other countries.

The trend toward foreign investment is not a phenomenon of the conglomerates alone. BUMN's [state-owned business enterprises] and operators of small and medium businesses do the same thing.

Of 2,022 businesses owned by Indonesian citizens [in Singapore], 80.7 percent, or 1,631 businesses, are the property of Indonesians who are not in the conglomerate category. Compare that with the 387 firms (19.1 percent) owned by conglomerates and the four owned by BUMN's.

Several BUMN's can be cited as examples. The State Trading Bank owns Staco International Finance, Ltd., in Hong Kong. Garuda Indonesia owns Garuda Orient Holiday in Los Angeles. Krakatau Steel owns Purna Bakti in the Netherlands. Bank Indonesia owns Indover Overseas Bank, also in the Netherlands. In fact, PERTAMINA [National Oil and Natural Gas Company] has seven subsidiaries overseas: two in Japan, four in Hong Kong, and one in South Korea.

In 1990, for example, we witnessed a number of our conglomerates investing overseas, mostly through acquisitions.

In January 1990, Sukanto Tanoto of the Raja Garuda Mas Group, through its subsidiary in Singapore, acquired 38.3 percent of the stock of Electro Magnetic Singapore (EMS), a company operating in the electronics sector. Five months later, the Ika Muda Group began to spread its wings to Alaska by buying Ocean Beauty Seafood, Inc., a seafood processing company.

In July, Joseph Tulong—owner of PT Aempe Pluit Bataco Raya—bought Observation City Hotel in Perth for \$77 million [Australian dollars], or about 115 billion rupiah. Joseph Tulong is the second largest Indonesian investor, after Edward Soeryadjaya of the Summa Group, who bought the Prince Plaza Hotel for \$11 million [Australian dollars]. The Summa Group has also promised an investment of \$2 billion [Australian dollars] to buy the Westralia Square skyscraper project in Perth now owned by Tipperary Developments.

Last November, Ibrahim Risjad—a successful partner of Liem Sioe Liong in the Salim Group quartet and who has formed his own group called Rismar—cooperated with Antah Holding from Malaysia in taking over complete ownership of Oiltools International for \$26 million. In Indonesia, Oiltools International is a foreign investor in a Rismar Group subsidiary named PT Vetco Gray Indonesia.

Before acquiring UIC in Singapore, the Salim Group took over several companies, including Gold Coin Singapore, Pte., Ltd., which was renamed KMP Feedmills, Pte., Ltd., and Lamipak, a plastics manufacturer. It acquired a 19 percent share of Inno Pacific, the owner of Shakey's Pizza and Kentucky Fried Chicken franchises everywhere in the world except Japan.

Indonesian businessmen are as aggressive those from other countries in making foreign investments.

As an example, of the 10,305 companies in Singapore owned by businessmen of ASEAN countries other than Singapore as of mid-1990, almost 94 percent were owned by Indonesian and Malaysian citizens. Indonesians owned 2,022 firms (20 percent), while Malaysians owned 7,611 companies. Thailand followed with 385 businesses; the Philippines, 209; and Brunei Darussalam, 78.

Some Indonesian conglomerates—like Salim, Dharmala, Lippo, and Summa—have international divisions especially for handling the foreign investments of their groups.

Based on data from a Conglomeration Indonesia study, the Salim Group owned 82 subsidiaries overseas before the recent development in Singapore. These included 17 in Hong Kong, 16 in the Netherlands (Hagemeyer and others), and at least eight in Singapore.

Dharmala, with DMT as a holding company for companies overseas, has about 31 subsidiaries. Lippo, through Lippo Assets International, has about 10 subsidiaries. Ongko owns 19 companies. Astra and Summa own about 11 companies.

### Private Companies To Build Coal Port

91SE0201B Jakarta BISNIS INDONESIA  
in Indonesian 14 Mar 91 p 4

[Text] Jakarta (BISNIS)—South Kalimantan is to have a coal port. It will be built under a total investment of \$150 million through a joint venture between private Indonesian and Australian companies.

Fahrin Ilham, chief of the South Kalimantan Bureau for Public Relations, said that in the first phase the port construction, which will be done by PT [Limited Company] Indonesia Bulk Terminal, will need an investment of about \$126 million and is expected to be completed in 1992.

He and Achmad Yusuf, chief of planning and promotion for the South Kalimantan BKPM [Regional Capital

Investment Coordination Board], told BISNIS yesterday that construction of the port is in anticipation of increased production by the province's coal mines.

Achmad added that in the first phase the port will accommodate 8 million tons of coal and will have a ship-loading capacity of 14,000 tons per hour.

The port, to be located south of Laut Island, will have a pier extending 1.7 kilometers from the shore to water 18 meters deep. The pier will allow the mooring of ships of 10,000 to 15,000 DWT [deadweight tons].

A BISNIS source said that the enterprise is a joint venture between two national companies, PT Terminal Batubara Indah (TBI) (40 percent) and PT Dermaga Batu Perkasa (10 percent), and Consolidated Bulk Handling (CBH) of Australia (50 percent of shares).

PT TBI, which previously developed a port of this type in Cirebon, is itself a joint venture among several groups of companies. PT Dermaga Batu Perkasa is a subsidiary of PT Catur Yasa Group, which operates in the construction sector.

The port in South Kalimantan will be exactly the same as the coal port at Gladstone, Australia, which was built by CBH Group Australia.

Achmad Yusuf added that the first construction phase will use at least 100 hectares of land. The area will be expanded to 200 hectares in the next phase. It will be operated in cooperation with Ports Public Enterprise III in Surabaya.

He said that five investors are processing coal in South Kalimantan. One of them, PT Arutmin Indonesia, is now in production.

PT Arutmin Indonesia is a joint venture between BHP-Utah and the Bakrie Brothers Group. The company's concession covers 1.26 million hectares, but only 501,000 hectares have coal potential. The projected PT Arutmin Indonesia production for this year is 2 million tons.

Meanwhile, four other companies—PT Adaro Indonesia, PT Chung Hua Development, PT Kideco Jaya Agung, and PT Utah Indonesia—are still in the exploration stage. PT Kideco Jaya Agung began production last year at a capacity of 100,000 tons per year.

Achmad Yusuf said the five companies are expected to be in commercial production by 1993. Their production is expected to reach 10 million tons per year.

The coal mines owned by the five companies are scattered in the southeastern, western, and northern parts of South Kalimantan Province. PT Arutmin Indonesia has the largest mining concession. It runs the length of the southeastern coast of South Kalimantan and includes the northern end of Laut Island.

## Banker Sees Economic Problems, Opportunities

91SE0201A Jakarta BISNIS INDONESIA  
in Indonesian 13 Mar 91 p 5

[Article by M. Bahsan, banking professional and observer of economic and legal issues: "Indonesian Economic Prospects After Gulf War"]

[Text] The whole world received the end of the Gulf War with relief, but there are differing opinions on many things connected with the termination of the conflict.

These opinions relate to the consequences and effects of the war on countries involved in the war as well as on nations that were not involved.

The economy, whether international or national, is one of the problems that will come to the surface quickly. While the Gulf War lasted, both international and national economic development suffered disruption and damage.

International relations, including foreign trade, experienced many setbacks. One example was the increased cost of transportation and insurance. The developing countries, especially, suffered problems related to balance of payments, budgets, and economic growth. Indonesia, too, experienced these things.

One frequently used measure of economic development is economic growth. In REPELITA V [Fifth 5-Year Development Plan], Indonesia has an economic growth target of 5 percent.

## Economic Growth

In the first year of REPELITA V, economic growth achieved the rather high rate of 7.4 percent. This, of course, was most gratifying, since it exceeded the target.

Will the figure again exceed the targeted average in the second year (1990-91)? Attention needs to be given to things that have happened in 1990-91. On the international side, the Kuwait problem arose and was followed by the Gulf War. This situation had considerable effect on the Indonesian economy.

A number of problems also occurred on the national side. These included greater inflation, higher interests, higher oil prices, and tight money policies. Thus, there were many challenges to Indonesian economic growth in 1990-91, and this will also be true in 1991-92.

## After Gulf War

Although opinions are frequently voiced about the influence on economic growth of fiscal policies vis-a-vis monetary policies, these two policies are mutually supportive when accompanied by actions in the "real" sector.

An example of this was the government's efforts in 1990 to keep inflation from reaching double digits. These steps consisted of tight money policies to reduce the

amount of money in circulation, intensified tax collection, and issuance of import permits for goods, like trucks and cement, whose prices were rising.

As a consequence of Indonesia's open economy, there may be some post-Gulf War matters that will have great economic effect on us.

The interrelated issues of interest rates, investments, balance of payments, the national budget, and exports are drawing much attention.

The government apparently will continue with policies it used in the past to solve the same problems. For example, to fight inflation, it will maintain a tight money policy by requiring 12 BUMN's [state-owned business enterprises] to convert their bank deposits to SBI's [Bank Indonesia certificates].

In connection with these problems and measures taken to resolve them, further attention needs to be given to the following things that may happen to the Indonesian economy after the Gulf War:

a. If oil producing countries in the Gulf region are still able to produce oil and if they increase their output to get funds needed for reconstruction, the resulting excess supply will cause prices to fall.

Furthermore, lower demand for oil can be expected because winter is over, some buying countries have limited economic capability, and other countries still have adequate oil supplies. As one of the oil exporting countries, Indonesia is certain to suffer the consequences of such a price decline.

b. If oil prices decline to less than \$19 per barrel (the figure used in calculating the national budget), as feared in some circles, this situation will affect our balance of payments and the national budget.

c. World economic conditions, which have not yet recovered from effects of the war, will cause other problems related to our receiving foreign exchange funds for exports of nonoil commodities and our receiving foreign aid (such as through the IGGI [Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia]). There will be a resulting effect on our balance of payments and on the national budget.

As long as Indonesia's commodity exports are tied to agricultural products, these exports will be affected by disadvantageous competition from other countries that produce the same products.

As far as foreign aid is concerned, it can be seen that some donor countries that have always helped Indonesia were involved in the Gulf War at great expense.

d. Some opportunities that exist following the Gulf War may represent another aspect that could help Indonesia resolve the economic problems cited above.

The reconstruction of Gulf countries that suffered destruction in various sectors opens a new opportunity for Indonesia to export industrial goods needed for rebuilding.

Some of those industrial products, such as cement, steel, plywood, and processed foods, are much needed here, however. This matter will therefore greatly depend on our production capabilities and on how much competition there is in those commodities. There is also a need for government action in the "real" sector to boost nonoil exports.

Another opportunity is in services and manpower. Although these will compete with other countries, efforts to use the opportunity should be made in view of Indonesia's capabilities in these areas.

These opportunities must have the attention and support of everyone if they are to be implemented. They will ultimately afford considerable help to the Indonesian economy.

#### Easing of Tight Money Gradual

9ISE0194C Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian  
21 Mar 91 pp 1, 14

[Text] Jakarta (KOMPAS)—Easing of the tight money policy will be done gradually to prevent inflation and speculation on the dollar. Bankers have reacted positively to this plan. Through this relaxation of liquidity, it is hoped that interest rates will gradually decline and that enthusiasm will return to activities in the "real" sector and the capital market.

This was the gist of statements made in separate KOMPAS interviews on Wednesday [20 March] with Bank Indonesia spokesman Dahlan M. Sitalaksana, Bank of Central Asia (BCA) Principal Director Abdullah Ali, Bank Bali Vice President W. Kidarsa, Bank Danamon Managing Director Jusuf Arbiyanto Tjondrolukito, Indonesian International Bank (BII) Director of Planning and Development Ronny Suyanto, and DPR [Parliament] APBN [National Budget] Commission Deputy Chairman Aberson Marle Sihalohe.

Bank Indonesia spokesman Dahlan Sitalaksana said that relaxation of the tight money policy will be done little by little, keeping an eye on current monetary conditions. "The loosening of tight money is not always visible," he said. Relaxation efforts may be made through the money market securities mechanism, increased credit liquidity, government expenditures, or sales of foreign exchange through Bank Indonesia. "Which mechanism Bank Indonesia will choose depends on conditions at the time," he stated. He hoped this relaxation will reduce the present unrealistic interest rate.

Aberson Marle Sihalohe feels that relaxation of tight money must be done with money market securities through open market operations. With this mechanism,



the Central Bank can supervise the use of public funds, primarily those originating from BUMN's [state-owned business enterprises].

According to the DPR member from the F-PDI [Indonesian Democratic Party Faction], each bank needing liquidity can buy these money market securities. In this way, the Central Bank can directly monitor their use and control the net foreign exchange position.

### Bank Indonesia Knows Most

Private bankers feel that Bank Indonesia is the one that knows the most about current monetary conditions. When money should be relaxed is entirely up to Bank Indonesia. "We are merely implementers," said Ronny Suyanto.

W. Kidarsa said that Bank Indonesia's plans to end the tight money period encourages the banks and calms the public. He said he and his fellow bankers are waiting to change interest rates. He hoped that interest rates will come down after tight money is relaxed. If deposit account interest comes down, loan interest rates and "swap" costs will also decline. "This will normalize conditions," he said.

The Bank Bali loan interest rate is now 29 percent. "This will come down after funds really become liquid," Kidarsa stated. He hoped that bankers will continue to be selective in providing credit after the tight money period ends. To revive the sluggish economy, credit should be extended to those who truly need it. "Don't hold 'sales,' but let credit be used for internal consolidation," he added.

BII, which has been delaying the payout of credits, is happy about the relaxation of tight money. "We can breathe a little," said Ronny Suyanto. He said that BII had problems assembling funds during the tight money period. The loosening of tight money is still affected by domestic and foreign conditions, he said. He explained that BII has taken a conservative position by maintaining a loan-to-deposit ratio of 97 percent. As of 9 March, the bank had assets of 3.1 trillion rupiah and a capital adequacy ratio of 10.42 percent.

BII's present loan rate is 32-33 percent. Will the rate come down if liquidity is relaxed? Ronny Suyanto replied that BII will look at the situation. He added that the reduction of rates by three banks, namely Bank Bumi Daya (BBD), State Savings Bank (BTN), and Bank Bali, have not affected the market. "Many large banks have not yet reduced their interest rates," Ronny Suyanto said.

Like Ronny Suyanto, BCA Principal Director Abdullah Ali feels that interest rates will not come down as soon as liquidity is relaxed. When money was tightened, interest rates did not go up immediately. "Interest and goods are not the same," he said.

According to Abdullah Ali, each bank sells confidence to the public. Thus, policies on raising and lowering interest rates cannot be constantly changed. Furthermore, he said, each bank has plans, both short- and long-term. Whether interest rates will decline or not is up to each bank. "The conditions of banks are not the same," he added.

This relaxation will enable banks to extend credit more easily, Abdullah Ali said. Nevertheless, Jusuf Arbianto Tjondrolukito said, credit must be more aimed at productive businesses.

### 'Real' Sector

According to Aberson Marle Sihaloho, the relaxation of tight money will reduce deposit and loan interest rates and will restore activity in the "real" sector. "The stock market will be even more active," he declared.

He added that without reducing deposit and loan interest rates an economic growth rate of 5 percent cannot be achieved. He said such a growth rate can be reached only by stimulating the "real" sector with investments.

Investments, in turn, will be made only if interest rates are at an appropriate level. According to Dahlan Sutalaksana, a realistic interest rate is 18 percent. Bankers feel a rate of 18 percent will not be reached for two or three months.

Aberson added that inflation will not occur as long as demand for liquidity is balanced by growth in goods and services. "As long as they are in balance, there will be no inflation," he said. He added that inflation is a result of much floating money, which causes speculation. Up to now, floating funds, which clearly came from the BUMN's, totaled about 8.1 trillion rupiah. During the last three years, less three months, capitalization on the capital market, reached 15.7 trillion rupiah. He said that only half of that amount has been invested. "Such floating funds are what cause inflation," said Aberson Marle Sihaloho.

### Timor Gap Exploration Begins

91SE0194B Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 21 Mar 91  
p 10

[Article by Indroyono Soesilo, researcher at the Agency for Study and Application of Technology: "Hunt Begins in Timor Gap"]

[Text] Implementation of the Timor Gap cooperation agreement between Indonesia and Australia began in the middle of February. The two countries have agreed to set up a Timor Gap Joint Authority Board (BOB), with offices in Jakarta and Canberra. It is hoped that the Jakarta BOB office will begin to function in March and that the BOB will offer 15 contract areas in Timor Gap Zone A to oil companies by mid-1991. The hunt for "black gold" in the Indonesia-Australia joint economic

region has begun, and the prospects for oil and gas potential in the area will soon be known.

The cooperation agreement divides the Timor Gap region into three zones. In Zone A, Australia and Indonesia will divide production 50:50. Australia will work Zone B under a joint production arrangement of 84 percent for Australia and 16 percent for Indonesia. Indonesia will work Zone C under an arrangement of 90 percent for Indonesia and 10 percent for Australia.

For Indonesia, the Timor Gap represents a "new frontier" of exploration. Indonesia's oil and gas exploration was concentrated traditionally for 100 years in the western part of the country, particularly in oil and gas basins in North Sumatra, Central Sumatra, South Sumatra and Natuna, followed by the Java-Sunda, South Kalimantan, and East Kalimantan basins. As of 1989, explorations in the east had touched only the Manui basin in Southeast Sulawesi and the Banggai Sulawati, Bintuni, and Akimeugah basins in Irian Jaya.

Unlike Indonesia, Australia's oil and gas search around the Timor Gap began at the end of the 1960's and in the early 1970's. Oil and gas exploration off the northern coast of Australia began with the Bonaparte basin west of Darwin and extended increasingly into the open sea to the north. Oil was found in sandstone from the late Permian to early Carboniferous ages (about 280 million years ago) at depths of 2,500 to 3,500 meters below the ocean floor, as in the Tern oil field. In October 1981, Australia began operating the off-shore platform Ocean Digger to drill oil and gas wells off the shores of the Bonaparte Gulf. Operation of the drilling ship Glomar Grand Isle began the next month. Various exploration and production operations in the 1970's and 1980's placed Australia's northern region as producer of 8 percent of all oil and gas produced in Australia. In 1988, the region produced 1.9 million cubic meters of crude oil and 260 million cubic meters of natural gas.

Looking at a map showing the distribution of oil fields around Timor Gap Zones A and B, it can be seen that more than 54 drilling operations have been conducted in the region. Two off-shore fields in the Timor Sea, namely the Jabiru and Challis fields, have begun production from dependable oil and gas deposits.

Records show that in 1988 1.8 million cubic meters of crude oil and 34.5 million cubic meters of natural gas were pumped from the Jabiru field alone. Off-shore oil and gas around the Timor Gap generally is found in compacted sandstone from the early Triassic (195 million years) to the early Cretaceous (65 million years) ages, with multiple accumulations in the Vulcan and Bonaparte sedimentation basins.

The purpose of the exploration now under way naturally is to find out how far the Vulcan and Bonaparte sedimentation basins extend into the Timor Gap region and how extensively the sedimentary rock from these basins is distributed. When Timor Gap contract areas are offered, it is expected that many oil and natural gas

companies will compete for concessions in areas in the western part of the Timor Gap, since prospects for oil and gas are more clearly known from data gathered in earlier exploration operations in the Jabiru and Challis oil fields. The data indicate very positive prospects.

The hunt for oil and gas apparently will begin mostly in Zones A and B, which are closest to Australia. In Zone C, Indonesia must offer a number of facilities to interest companies in working the zone, since it is truly a virgin area and needs no small amount of capital for initiating exploration operations there. The provision of basic data may be one of the facilities offered.

The Indonesian Government anticipated a trend in that direction when it deployed research ships Baruna Jaya I, II, and III, which are managed by the BPPT [Agency for Study and Application of Technology], to begin an inventory of basic data on seas in the Timor Gap region. The ships carry a number of instruments for gathering data from the prospective oil and gas areas. These instrument include seismic equipment for ocean use, heat flow measurement devices, and sea-floor radar imaging equipment.

The cooperation agreement for developing Timor Gap oil and gas operations offers both hopes and challenges, particularly to Indonesia. It is an opportunity for Indonesia to learn how to develop a "new frontier," where we will apply various modern exploration technologies, deep-sea drilling, and intensive maritime surveys for the purpose of managing and exploiting natural resources. We ourselves have declared on paper that these resources are ours.

#### **Armed Forces Chief Says Poverty Still Top Problem**

*91SE0194A Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 18 Mar 91 p 12*

[Text] Jakarta (KOMPAS)—PANGAB [Armed Forces Commander] General Try Sutrisno believes that the main social welfare problems, in both cities and villages, are caused by the impoverished conditions of Indonesians living below the poverty line.

In a written address presented to a Department of Social Affairs working conference on Saturday [16 March], the PANGAB also said that conspicuous and critical social problems include the use and abuse of narcotics and alcohol, residential slums, a breakdown of family ties, isolated ethnic groups, urbanization, and unemployment.

"None of these problems can be ignored," the PANGAB said in his address, which was read by Major General Soegito, territorial assistant to the chief of the ABRI [Indonesian Armed Forces] General Staff.

The PANGAB said that social welfare policies and programs aimed at prevention of problems and at development of social services and aid, social rehabilitation,

and community development have strategic value in the creation of national stability in the context of national development.

At another point in his address, the PANGAB emphasized the necessity of encouraging community initiative and creativity, which are goals of development. To accomplish this, a climate needs to be created in the community and in mass organizations.

#### **ABRI's Dual Function**

Meanwhile, in a written address presented in Bandung on Saturday for the opening of the fifth 1990-91 class of the ABRI Course for Key Personnel (SUSGATI) Responsible for Sociopolitical Affairs, the PANGAB stressed that ABRI's dual function represents ABRI's resolve, soul, and spirit of dedication, which existed long

before the birth of the dual function. ABRI's sociopolitical function is therefore the embodiment of ABRI's soldierly calling, resolve, and steadfastness.

Thus, according to the PANGAB, the strengthening of an understanding, awareness, and practical outworking of ABRI's role as a sociopolitical force is a basic effort that must be developed and guided so that it is consistent with the strengthening of ABRI's role as a defense and security force.

This strengthening effort is needed not only because of the need for each ABRI generation to keep putting warrior values into practice, but also because of the varied types of challenges to ABRI's tasks. These challenges will be increasingly heavy and complex in the defense and security and the sociopolitical sectors as development continues in the strategic sphere and in the ever more complex science and technology area.

## POLITICAL

### Future of Spirit of '46 in Question

91SE0196B Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA  
in Malay 14 Mar 91 p 14

[Article by Rashid Darham under the "News Analysis" rubric: "Spirit of '46 Leaders Continue To Leave Party"]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur—The announcement by the president of Spirit of '46 Women, Hajah Rahmah Othman, that she plans to distance herself from politics for two years to concentrate on her education continues to raise questions.

One by one, leaders of the party have been making similar statements, although with somewhat different tones and reasons. Is this a first step and polite tactic in their leaving the party altogether?

These leaders include even the party's deputy president, Datuk Rais Yatim, who is taking a one-year study leave; and Vice President Hajah Marina Yusof has relinquished all party posts to give her attention to her family and business.

Last November, the Malacca chairman of Spirit of '46, Datuk Wira Ahmad Nordin, resigned all party posts to focus his attention on legal work.

Former member of parliament from Sik, Kedah, Datuk Haji Zainol Abidin Johari, who was defeated in the last general election, reportedly is also leaving the party's supreme council for full-time activity in the Kedah Military Veteran's Association.

Several days before the election, the president of Perlis Spirit of '46 and member of the supreme council, Datuk Radzi Sheikh Ahmad, resigned all his posts to retire from politics.

Reportedly, the party's chief of information, Datuk Zainal Abidin Zain is also retiring.

The party's vice president, Datuk Harun Idris, also said he no longer wants to be active in politics, since he accepts the "political reality."

"Political reality" can probably be understood to mean that the people have rejected the Spirit of '46 as an extension of the original UMNO [United Malays National Organization] and have accepted UMNO under the leadership of Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad as the vessel of Malay struggle, as demonstrated in the outcome of the last election.

Before that, Datuk Harun's close friend Abdullah Ismail, Spirit of '46 Batu Division president, left the party and joined UMNO. He reportedly joined UMNO on Datuk Harun's own advice.

It is expected that this trend will continue and that even more Spirit of '46 leaders and members will leave the party, since they have lost confidence in the party's

struggle following its failure to revive the original UMNO through the general election.

Although the Spirit of '46 fought to revive the original UMNO, the Malays (except in Kelantan) have rejected the party's effort and have accepted UMNO under the leadership of Datuk Sri Dr. Mahathir.

Therefore, the Spirit of '46 can no longer base its existence on the struggle to revive the original UMNO. It must seek a new basis in order to reassure its members and attract new members and support.

Although the Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah (president of the Spirit of '46) factor plays an important role in the great strength of the Spirit of '46, especially, and of the Islamic Unity Movement (Angkatan) in Kelantan, the party appears now to face problems in the state.

Therefore, if the Spirit of '46 wants to maintain power in Kelantan and extend its influence to other states, it appears that the party must make some radical changes, particularly in the basis of its struggle.

As we said before, it can no longer base its struggle on reviving the original UMNO, because that basis was rejected.

The question now is whether Tengku Razaleigh will introduce a new basis for the Spirit of '46.

Will we have the chance to hear a new note or theme in the party's effort to survive, or will we witness a new name (and symbol) for the party? The name "Spirit of '46" will no longer fit if the party changes the basis of its struggle.

If Tengku Razaleigh should keep the old basis, it is certain that the Spirit of '46 will not move far from Kelantan State. In fact, the party's future even in Kelantan will be a question mark.

### UMNO Forms Branches in Sabah, Enrolls USNO Members

91SE0196A Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA  
in Malay 12 Mar 91 p 3

[Text] Kota Kinabalu, 11 Mar—The UMNO [United Malays National Organization] Supreme Council has approved the formation of 1,701 UMNO branches in Sabah and the automatic acceptance of 130,000 former USNO [United Sabah National Organization] members into UMNO.

UMNO Secretary-General Datuk Mohamed Rahmat announced today that the number of branches is based on the number of existing USNO branches.

Datuk Mohamed said this means that 130,000 USNO members belonging to the 1,701 USNO branches will be received automatically as UMNO members. Each person needs only to fill out a form and include a letter of resignation from USNO.

He said UMNO Headquarters is handling the registration of 20 UMNO divisions and 1,701 branches in Sabah with the Registrar of Societies.

Registration certificates for all divisions and branches are expected in two weeks, he told a press conference today after meeting with the founding presidents of UMNO divisions in Sabah at the Dang Bandang Building here.

The UMNO secretary-general announced that the Registrar of Societies has approved UMNO Headquarters' request that the divisions and branches be given temporary liberty to operate.

Because this approval has been given, UMNO divisions and branches in Sabah are now free to operate.

Datuk Mohamed said further that the UMNO Supreme Council will consider the formation of new branches and will leave further action to the founding committees of the divisions that have been created.

Datuk Mohamed, who is also minister of information, announced that UMNO has arranged for 2,000 lectures to introduce UMNO and to explain its presence in Sabah.

Through these explanations, it is hoped that the people of Sabah will understand UMNO's good intentions in entering the state, he said.

"Our (UMNO's) intentions are good. We will fight for the interests of the people of Sabah so that they will not be left behind in the new concept of development," Datuk Mohamed added.

He called attention to the fact that UMNO is entering Sabah at the request of the people of Sabah themselves. They are tired of the unstable politics in Sabah, in which the responsibility for protecting the interests of the state and its people frequently has been neglected and left unfinished.

"We hope UMNO will bring changes that will stabilize Sabah's politics," he stated.

Datuk Mohamed said the people of Sabah have given UMNO a very encouraging reception.

He said that 300,000 forms have been distributed throughout Sabah and that some places have run out of them.

## MILITARY

### Defense Ties With Brunei Strengthened

91SE0198A Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA  
in Malay 13 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[Text] Bandar Seri Begawan, 12 Mar—Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam today agreed in principle to sign a memorandum of understanding (MOU) on defense matters.

The agreement was reached at midday today in a 1-hour meeting at Nurul Iman Palace between Minister of Defense Datuk Sri Najib Tun Razak and Sultan of Brunei Hassanal Bolkiah.

Datuk Sri Najib was on a one-day visit to Brunei.

Other members of the Malaysian delegation were Armed Forces Commander General Tan Sri Hashim Mohd. Ali, Army Commander General Tan Sri Yaacob Mohd. Zain, Navy Commander Vice Admiral Datuk Mohd. Sharif Ishak, and Deputy Air Force Commander Major General Datuk Ahmad Merican.

The Malaysian delegation listened to a briefing and then talked with Bruneian Deputy Minister of Defense Major General Pengiran Haji Ibnu Pengiran Haji Apong.

Speaking to reporters at the Brunei International Airport before returning to Kuala Lumpur, Datuk Sri Najib said that the sultan of Brunei had agreed to stronger cooperation between the two countries.

"It is up to officials of the two countries to provide detailed contents for the MOU so that it can be signed quickly," Datuk Sri Najib said.

He said the main provisions of the MOU will include officer training, acquisition of military equipment, and joint military exercises.

He expressed his confidence that the MOU will further strengthen the cooperation that has existed between the two countries since 1961.

As an example, Datuk Sri Najib said, Malaysia each year accepts 100 to 150 Bruneian military officers for training and courses at several military training centers.

He said also that the two countries held joint naval exercises last year and that the exercises will be expanded this year to include army exercises.

He announced that Brunei Darussalam, for its part, is prepared to buy military equipment.

In reply to a question, Datuk Sri Najib denied that Malaysia is in a weapons race with Singapore.

"We want only to protect our national security and sovereignty, and whatever we do is within our means," he explained in reply to a local reporter's question.

## ECONOMIC

### Agriculture Still Important to National Economy

91SE0197A Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN  
in Malay 12 Mar 91 p 3

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 11 Mar—The agriculture sector contributed almost 15 billion ringgit to the gross domestic product (GDP) and provided 1.94 million jobs during the Fifth Malaysia Plan, according to Minister of Agriculture Datuk Sri Sanusi Junid.

He said the agriculture sector will continue to make a large contribution to the national economy through a projected growth rate of 2.9 percent in the 1990's.

"Although the industrial sector is growing rapidly, agriculture's contribution to the GDP and its importance in providing jobs cannot be ignored," he said.

"Rubber, through its use by industry, has been one of the agricultural commodities that most contribute to the GDP. Recently, however, emphasis has been on the production of food commodities for export," he said.

In his speech today inaugurating a conference of senior MARDI [Malaysian Agricultural Research and Development Institute] officials, Datuk Sri Sanusi said that for the sake of guaranteeing economic stability the country needs economic contributions from diversified sources, with emphasis on primary commodities and food crops.

Haji Shariff Omar, parliamentary secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture, represented the minister and read the text of his speech.

Datuk Sri Sanusi also emphasized the importance of MARDI's responsibility for helping to eliminate poverty among farmers through discoveries in agricultural technology.

He wants MARDI to ensure that all discoveries from its research reach the target population in order to create a commercial agricultural sector.

"MARDI should not seek high technology agricultural discoveries but should expand the use of technology among the target population.

"There are two ways of measuring this: the effect of technology on users, and how well technology is disseminated."

He said MARDI needs to realize that the primary objective of agricultural research is to raise the commercial value of the agricultural sector.

Therefore, MARDI is asked not to produce technology and discoveries merely for academic purposes, for that is contrary to the government's objective in creating the agency, he said.

He said the government is allocating 152 million ringgit for MARDI research and development in the Sixth Malaysia Plan, an increase of 41 percent over the Fifth Malaysia Plan.

He said this allocation demonstrates the importance of MARDI in expediting the development of the national agricultural sector.

MARDI Director Datuk Dr. Mohd. Yusof Hashim said MARDI needs to produce higher technologies, ones with capabilities suitable for the development of a national agricultural industry.

"The measure of MARDI's success is not merely the announcement of achievements in the mass media. True success is achieved when technology benefits farmers.

"Unfortunately, the transfer of technology to farmers is still unsatisfactory and clearly indicates weaknesses in MARDI's own functioning," he said.

**Congress May Decrease Import Levy**

91SE0185A Manila DIYARYO FILIPINO in Tagalog  
8 Mar 91 p 1

[Text] The 9 percent import levy may be decreased by two points if Congress passes an alternative tax law, and if the present positive trends in the economy will continue.

This was stated yesterday by the Secretary of Finance (DOF) Jesus Estanislao after the Senate's executive session on the Philippine Assistance Plan (PAP) and on the national debt payments.

According to Estanislao, "The economy is running pretty well. If this continues until 15 April, it will be possible to decrease the import levy."

According to Senator Vicente Paterno, now a huge amount of dollars is necessary in order to continue the positive trends in the economy.

Paterno added, "More than \$180 million (dollars), starting with the entire national dollar reserves, are needed in order to strengthen the positive trends in the economy until the end of the year."

He (Paterno) further stipulated that it would be necessary to reserve the designated level of the base money, the value of all the money in circulation in the Table 2 of Letter of Interest (LOI), because the interest rates might increase.

The senator also said, "It is important not to mention the designated level of the base money, since it might have a bad impact on the economy."

On the other hand, Representative Jose Luis Martin Gascon (one of the two youngest representatives in the House), at a low-level meeting, asked that the public be informed of the conditions which are the PAP's responsibilities.

Gascon also stated that it is the responsibility of the government to inform the public of the conditions attached to the national donations to the PAP.

According to one source in the Senate, it is impossible to release even one dollar of the national donations, beginning with the entire promised value in the PAP, until the national budget has been lowered, the alternative tax law has been passed, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) agreements in LOI have been adhered to.

**NDF-CPP-NPA Shadow Government Established**

91SE0187A Manila DIYARYO FILIPINO in Tagalog  
12 Mar 91 p 1

[Text] The National Democratic Front-Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army (NDF-CPP-NPA) has established a "shadow government" in Marag Valley, Kalinga-Apayao.

According to Brigadier General Orlando Soriano, commander of the 5th Infantry Division of the Philippine Army (PA), the communists call the newly established rebel government the "National Revolution of Marag."

Soriano, in his report to Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos (DND) stated that since this is a self-governing government, the NDF-CPP-NPA therefore have their own laws to be obeyed and their own revolutionary taxes to be collected.

The military attack forces of the Armed Forces of the Philippines have been aggressively pursuing the NPA's in Marag Valley and in other places in Cagayan for a year now.

It has been reported that 74 children have died due to several causes.

The human rights groups claimed that the military intercepted all the medicine and food that they sent for the children.

But Soriano denied that this was true and stated that the parents of the dead children did not notify the military about the conditions of their children and that they related what had happened only to the human rights groups.

The Commission On Human Rights (CHR) and the Philippine Alliance of Human Rights Advocates (PAHRA) are investigating human rights violations by the military.

As a result, Ramos calls on all the members of the human rights groups, starting with the Church and the private sector, to co-operate with the AFP in order to alleviate the conditions.

At Camp Dangwa in Benguet, it was reported that 195 barangays (small village districts) in the Cordillera region are under the control of communist rebels.

This was revealed the day before yesterday by Chief Superintendent Juanito Aquias, regional director of the Philippine National Police (PNP) of the Cordillera Regional Command (CRECOM).

According to Aquias, four of the five provinces in the Cordilleras are gravely affected by the operations of the NPA's, which are now the targets of the police and the military.

According to the officer (Aquias), there are 557 rebels campaigning in the region who are members of the Cordillera Regional Party Committee.

This committee is headed by Ovencio Balweg, brother of Conrado Balweg, head of the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA), and Mario Macawa, alias "Ka Meng Fei."

It has been stated in a report received by Aquias that 104 barangays in Kalinga-Apayao are strongly under the

influence of the communists. Next is Abra, where 44 out of 301 barangays are controlled by the NPA's.

In Ifugao, 30 out of 165 barangays are under the influence of the NPA's, while 16 out of 149 barangays in Mountain Province are under the influence of the rebels.

He (Aquias) added that only Benguet is not that much affected by the operations of the rebels, since only one barangay is controlled by the leftist group.

According to a report, there are 257 regular guerillas campaigning in five provinces, together with 300 supporters, beginning in Ilocos North, Ilocos South and Kalinga-Apayao in the center of Abra.

Aquias conceded that the PNP's have difficulty confronting the NPA's; hence, they need the support of Philippine Army's 5th Infantry Division.

According to him (Aquias), his department organized a Task Force "Abra" supported by the populace via their surveillance of the rebels.

The above group is also composed of the military, the police, and some members of the Citizens' Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU).

Aquias also mentioned that there are three towns in Abra—Lacub, Tineg and Malibcong—which are in critical condition due to the victories or successful campaigns of the rebels.

He (Aquias) also disclosed that many of the rebels who turned against the government are only 13-15 years old. They were threatened and forced to become mail carriers for the communists.



## POLITICAL

**Interior Ministry Permanent Secretary Profiled**

91SE0175C Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 27 Feb 91  
p 22

[Text] **Mr. Charoenchit Na Songkhla, the New Undersecretary of Interior**

He was born on 8 November 1930 in Bangkok. He is the son of Luang Cahrunkit (Charun Na Songkhla) and Mrs. Lamai Na Songkhla. His father served as the commissioner of Narathiwat, Pattani, Satun, Phangnga, and Phetburi provinces and as the military commissioner of Perlis and Sai Buri (during the Second World War, Japan returned four states to Thailand from 1941-1945). His grandfather was Phraya Muang Nong Chik or Phraya Phechara Phibannarubet (Phuang Na Songkhla), one of the seven "hua muang" (provincial towns) during the reign of King Chulalongkorn. Males in his father's line held the title of Phraya Muang Songkhla for five successive generations, with the first Phraya Muang Songkhla being Luang Suwanshirisombat (Yiang).

**Education:** He moved about with his father and attended various provincial schools in the south, including the Narathiwat, Satun, Phatthalung, and Pattani schools. He completed secondary school at Bangkok Christian School and earned his B.A. degree in political science from Thammasat University.

**Additional education in Thailand:** He took the company commanders course with the National Defense Volunteers Unit and attended the Psychological Warfare School as a member of Class 12 and the National Defense College as a member of Class 27.

**Education abroad:** Certificate of Management Science, St. Paul, Minnesota. He observed personnel administration in the United States and in Europe. He studied refugee projects in South America and Asia and self-defense and environmental activities in Europe and Australia.

**Family:** He is married to Suprani (Ranongthani), the daughter of Khun Ranongthani and Mrs. Phasana (a former district officer, lieutenant governor, and inspector for the Department of Local Administration). They have three sons and one daughter.

**Work:** He began his government career at the age of 23 when he was made third deputy district officer in Muang District, Songkhla Province. After four years in that position, he was made a second grade official and appointed municipal inspector in Trang and Songkhla provinces. He was appointed district officer in Ya Ring District, Pattani Province. He worked in several districts. He was made a first grade official and ordered to serve as a coordinator in the area in accord with the government's policy. He served as the director of the Administrative Coordination Center in the southern border provinces for three years. After that, he was

appointed district officer in Hat Yai District, Songkhla Province. He then served as lieutenant governor of Satun Province, inspector with the Department of Local Administration, deputy governor of Songkhla Province, governor of Krabi and Songkhla provinces, and inspector for the Ministry of Interior. He also carried on coordinating activities in special areas in accord with the government's policy, that is, he served as the director of the Southern Border Provinces Administrative Center. During the period 1 October 1981 to 30 September 1987 he served as the deputy undersecretary of interior for security. On 1 October 1987, he was appointed deputy undersecretary of interior for development, the position that he holds today.

In general, he is an easy-going person. He likes all kinds of sports. He likes a battle, which became evident during the period that he was a district officer. During the time that the communist terrorists and other groups committed acts of violence, he fought hard to suppress them. This is well known among politicians and government officials and in military circles. He received an award for his outstanding work while serving as district officer in Hat Yai District in 1972. In 1973, he received his second award from the Department of Local Administration, Ministry of Interior, while serving as district officer of Waen Phet District. Applying public administration principles in carrying out his administrative duties, he succeeded in improving the record keeping system, facilitating things for the people, making government offices more orderly, developing the localities, suppressing the bandits, and solving the problem of communist terrorist infiltration in the districts and provinces where he served.

**Experiences of which he is proud:** While serving as district officer and provincial governor, he donated blood to village women who were giving birth and to villagers who were ill. He is happy at having had a chance to help villagers. He is proud of having suppressed bandits in important cases.

**Ideals in work:** Administrators must be honest. They must make sacrifices, and they must be sincere about working on behalf of the people. These are the principles, which are in addition to the principles of public administration, that have made his life a success.

**Police Chief, NPC Member Profiled**

91SE0175B Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 24 Feb 91  
p 23

[Text] **Police General Sawat Amonwiwat, the Director-General of the Police Department and the Deputy Head of the National Peacekeeping Council [NPC]**

He was born on 20 September 1935. After graduating from the Assumption Bangrak School, he entered CRMA [Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy], which he attended for two years. He then transferred to the Sam Phran Police Academy, which he attended from 1956 to 1960 as a member of Class 13. After graduating, he was

appointed deputy inspector at the Phya Thai Police station. Two years later, he left to study for a master's degree in public administration at the University of Indiana in the United States. After returning to Thailand, he worked for 10 years and then took the Police Management course at the FBI College in the United States. In 1983 he attended the National Defense College as a member of Class 26. He also earned a master's degree in social development from Kasetsart University. Positions: He has served as a deputy inspector at the Phya Thai Police station, the inspector for investigation at the Dusit Police Station, chief clerk to the commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, chief inspector at the Metropolitan Police Station, deputy chief of the Personnel Division, Superintendent 4, Railway Police Division, chief of the Personnel Division, assistant commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, head administrator of the Police Department, assistant director-general of the Police Department, and director-general of the Police Department.

#### Politicians' Property Holdings Profiled

91SE0175D Bangkok KHAO PHISIT in Thai  
4-10 Mar 91 pp 29-31

#### [Text] Thai Nation Party

Among the pro-government parties, the Thai Nation Party is the only political party that has openly engaged in business activities. This includes people at the top of the party such as General Chatchai, Police General Praman Adireksan, Mr. Banhan Silapa-acha, and Mr. Pramuan Saphawasu. All of these people became involved in politics for business reasons. Their business structure can be broken down as follows:

General Chatchai Chunhawan holds shares in the Erawan Trust Finance and Securities Company and the Erawan International Company. He also owns a few shares in several other businesses.

Police General Praman Adireksan holds shares in the Adireksan Enterprise Company, Thai Asahi Caustic Soda Company, the Thai Asahi Glass Company, and the Thai Theyin Company.

Mr. Banhan Silapa-acha holds shares in the Sahasichai Chemicals Company, the B.S. International Company, the Bangkok Cement Company, the Si Ayuthaya Life Insurance Company, the the Nathithong Company, and the Ratcha Damriwechakit Company.

Mr. Pramuan Saphawasu holds shares in the Pramuan Construction Company and the Plaen Company.

Mr. Sa-at Piyawan holds shares in the Lampang Sai Company.

Mr. Sanoh Thianthong holds shares in the S. Thianthong Company.

Mr. Thawit Klinprathum holds shares in the Trailer Transport Company and the Bangkok Krennet Company.

Mr. Suraphan Chinnawat holds shares in the Chinnawat Mai Thai Company, the P.T. Corporation, and the Chinnawat Trading Company.

The group of Mr. Sombat Phanitchiwa and Mr. Bunsong Sifuangfung hold shares in the Thai Asahi Glass Company, the Thai Glass and Marketing Company, the Thai Safety Glass Company, the Thai Asahi Caustic Soda Company, the Thai Plastics and Chemical Products Company, the Goodyear Company, the R.S.P Insurance Company, the Cathay Trust Finance and Securities Company, the Bunsong Company, and the Bangkok Textile Plant.

Mr. Thamma Pinsukanchana holds shares in the Samchai Company.

Mr. Det Bunlong holds shares in the Thai Theyin Company.

Mr. Phithak Intharawithayanon is involved in air transport activities and other business ventures.

Mr. Phithak Rangsittham holds shares in the Rangsi Inter Company.

Mr. Thanit Traiwut is involved in timber trading.

The assets of these people are thought to be worth at least 20 billion, with their yearly revolving capital amounting to several tens of billions of baht.

#### The Social Action Party

The Social Action Party is another political party that is heavily involved in business activities. Most of the businesses are in the hands of the "Sang San" [construction] group, which announced that it was leaving the party to form a new party. Mr. Phong Sarasin and Police Captain Surat Osathanukhro are thought to be the leading businessmen in this group. The business ventures of this group can be shown as follows:

Mr. Phong Sarasin holds shares in the Thai Nam Thip company, the Fa Jip Company, the Thai Commerce Bank, the Thai Gypsum Company, the Thai Bridgestone Company, the Nippon Denso Company, the Triphet Isuzu Company, the Trimit Finance and Securities Company, the Thai Life Insurance Company, and the Ratcha Damri Arcade.

Police Captain Surat Osathanukhro is the owner of the Osathasapha Dek Heng Yu Company. He holds shares in the Lom Damri Company, the Intermagnam Company, the Premier Supply Company, the Sanyo Company, the Suwit and Seri Company, the Soemsuk Company, the G.F finance and Securities Company, the General Credit Foncier Company, the Generalist Company of Thailand, the Laboratory Company, the Multi-Media Company, the Siam Glass Industry Company, the Thai Fish Sauce

Industries Company, the Nakhon Pink Night Plaza Company, and the P.V.S. Construction Company.

Mr. Montri Phongphanit holds shares in the Maniphan company.

Mr. Chaiyasiri Ruangkanchanaset is involved in border trading activities and holds shares in the Pathumrat Hotel.

Mr. Somchai Khunplum holds shares in the Eastern Hotel and the Ocean and Ocean World trade centers.

Mr. Nikhom Saencharoen holds shares in the Bang Saen Villas and is involved in construction and real estate activities.

Mr. Amnuai Yotsuk holds shares in the Phiriyaphun Company.

Mr. Santi Chaiwirattana holds shares in the Chaiyaphum Miseng Huat Company.

#### The Democrat Party

The Democrat Party is another political party that used to have widespread business interests. But after the group of Mr. Chaloephan Siwikon split away and formed the Prachachon Party, the business base of the Democrat Party narrowed. The main businessmen are:

Mr. Phichai Rattakun holds shares in the Yaowarat Products Company, the First City Finance and Securities Company, the Industrial Syndicate Company, the C.J.N. Niramit Company, the Thai Thana Company, the Rattaphaithun Company, the A.R. Development Company, the Rattana Housing Company, the Thaithun Building Construction and Land Company, and the Bangkok Telecommunications and Transport Company.

The Decha Phaibun group holds shares in the Si Nakhon Bank, the Si Nakhon Finance and Securities Company, the Maharat (Mahachon) Liquor Company, the Si Nakhon Public Works Company, the Kloster Company of Thailand, and the Asia Thanakit Finance and Securities Company.

Mr. Chalio Yuwithaya holds shares in the T.C. Pharmaceuticals Company.

Mr. Prachuap Chaiyasan holds shares in the Slot Company and subsidiary companies.

Mr. Khongsak Klipbua holds shares in Phon and Son Company and the Thai Tin Company.

#### Politicians Face Assets Seizure, Procedures Noted

##### Investigation Committee, Process Described

91SE0177A Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 26 Feb 91  
pp 1, 10, 22

[Excerpt] The first reason cited by the National Peace-keeping Council (NPC) as to why it seized administrative power was that the former government was very corrupt. If that had been allowed to continue, that could have done great damage to the country. Concrete action on this was taken when the NPC issued Announcement 26 on 25 February to take resolute action against politicians who had served as ministers or held other political positions and who had used their positions to engage in corruption or become unusually wealthy. This law will allow officials to seize the assets of corrupt politicians and turn these assets over to the state.

The reason cited for issuing Announcement 26 on seizing assets and prohibiting the transfer of assets was:

"The NPC has told the people that it was necessary to seize administrative power because of the widespread corruption among politicians who governed the country. The NPC has clearly indicated that it will take resolute action. There is now clear evidence showing that many politicians who held a ministerial position or who held other political positions were unusually wealthy and that they could not have become that rich if they had earned their living honestly. Thus, in order to prevent these corrupt people from benefiting from their corrupt activities and to prevent them from transferring the assets that they obtained dishonestly, the procedures for seizing the assets of corrupt ministers and politicians are as follows:

Paragraph 1: An Assets Investigation Committee will be established. This committee will be composed of:

- 1.1. General Sitthi Chirarot, chairman.
- 1.2. Mr. Suthi Akatruk, vice chairman.
- 1.3. Mr. Mongkhon Pao-in, member.
- 1.4. Mr. Phaisan Kumanwisai, member.
- 1.5. Mr. Suchat Waiprasit, member.
- 1.6. Police Lieutenant General Wirot Pao-in, member.
- 1.7. Mr. Chaichet Sunthoraphiphit, member and secretary.

Paragraph 2: The Assets Investigation Committee will be responsible for considering which politicians engaged in activities indicating that they obtained their wealth by dishonest means and for making public the names of those politicians. The committee will gather the assets that have been seized and other assets of these people and make a decision on whether those people were unusually wealthy. The committee has the authority to issue an order to seize assets or prohibit those people

from transferring their assets. No one may file civil or criminal charges against the committee for carrying out its duties.

Paragraph 3: Commercial banks, financial institutions, and land officials throughout the country must examine the assets of people, inform the Assets Investigation Committee, and take resolute action in accord with the order on seizing assets and prohibiting the transfer of assets. They must inform the Assets Investigation Committee within seven days after being notified by the committee in order to take action in accord with their powers and duties.

Paragraph 4: The chairman of the Assets Investigation Committee or an official appointed by the chairman has the following powers:

4.1. To issue a letter requesting information from government officials, state units, or state enterprises in order to ascertain the facts about government activities or other matters.

4.2. To issue a summons to those involved in the matter under investigation to have them come testify, provide a list of their assets, other documents, or any materials necessary to the investigation or to inform such people that they must give a statement to or provide a list of assets or other documents necessary to the investigation to the chairman of the Assets Investigation Committee or to a duly appointed official.

4.3. To go to any establishment from dawn to sundown or during the work hours of that establishment in order to examine the books or other documents of those mentioned in Paragraph 2. In such cases, officials have the right to order the people at the establishment to do whatever necessary to facilitate the investigation. They have the power to seize the account books or other documents for examination.

Paragraph 5: The Assets Investigation Committee will establish subcommittees and appoint officials as it feels appropriate to have them investigate something or take some action.

Paragraph 6: If the committee decides that assets were obtained illegally, ownership of those assets will pass to the state unless the person charged can prove to the committee that he obtained those assets legally. He has 15 days to do this counting from when he is informed of this by the committee.

Paragraph 7: In carrying out their duties in accord with this announcement, the chairman, committee and subcommittee members, and other officials are to function as officials in accord with the Criminal Code. Officials must show their identify cards to those concerned.

Paragraph 8: Anyone who seizes the assets of a person regarding whom the committee has made a decision based on Paragraph 2 must inform the committee members and committee secretary within 15 days after the committee issues the list of names. As for the assets that

have passed into the hands of the state in accord with Paragraph 6, the committee must turn the assets over to the Ministry of Finance. In the case of real property, the assets must be turned over to officials in accord with the Land Code. Steps must be taken to revise the deeds to transfer ownership to the Ministry of Finance.

Paragraph 9: If the Assets Investigation Committee decides that a person described in Paragraph 2 has obtained assets illegally and it appears that that person has also committed a criminal offense, the committee chairman must turn the matter over to the officials concerned for further handling of the case.

Paragraph 10: Anyone who fails to inform the committee that assets have been seized as called for by Paragraph 8 may be sentenced to up to two years in prison, fined up to 40,000 baht, or both.

Paragraph 11: Anyone who refuses to testify or provide account books or other documents as described in Paragraph 4 may be sentenced to up to six months in prison, fined up to 10,000 baht, or both.

On 25 February, Colonel Banchon Chawalasin, the assistant secretary of the army, who has been appointed spokesman for the NPC, said that the reason why the head of the NPC issued this important document, that is, Announcement 26 on seizing and prohibiting the transfer of assets, was that the people have demanded that action be taken to curb corruption. The head of the NPC announced this when the first announcement was issued. Those appointed to serve on the Assets Investigation Committee are all people who are acceptable to people in general. They have all promised to perform their duties as well as possible. He called on people with data or information about corruption to inform the committee and the officials concerned. He also called on the people or units concerned not to accept or transfer the assets of those who have committed a crime. This is something that the people have been complaining about for a long time. The NPC cannot allow anything that goes against the wishes of the people.

Col. Banchon was asked if he could reveal the names of those whose assets may be seized in accord with this announcement. He said that an Assets Investigation Committee has now been formed. The committee is now discussing matters and looking for a way to handle matters fairly. It wants to give those who have been charged with engaging in corruption a chance to prove their innocence. A reporter asked if those who face having their assets seized are all political officials or whether civil servants and people in the private sector face such action, too. Col. Banchon said that it will be the Assets Investigation Committee that stipulates this. When asked if the establishment of this committee will have any effect on the Office of the Commission to Counter Corruption (OCCC), Col. Banchon said that the OCCC has not been abolished. The OCCC is continuing to carry out its duties as usual. The reason why it was

necessary to establish the Assets Investigation Committee is that normally, there are many limitations in investigating people's assets. This committee was formed in order to investigate things in accord with the wishes of the people. This committee will probably coordinate things with the OCCC.

The reporter asked whether those who face having their assets seized include those who have been detained. Col. Banchon said that this is up to the Assets Investigation Committee. That may or may not be the case. There is no law that says that if you are arrested, your assets will be seized or that assets will not be seized just because you have been arrested and face hardships. General Suchinda once said that if people found out about some things, they would be shocked. Col. Banchon was asked what action will be taken regarding these matters. He said that the army and other services have now taken action. Once everything is in order, the temporary government will handle things. If necessary, evidence will be turned over to the temporary government. The reporter asked, In meeting with bankers, have you talked about those who face having their assets seized? Col. Banchon said that they have not been discussed and added that this is up to the Assets Investigation Committee.

Mr. Ari Wong-araya, the director-general of the Department of Lands, discussed the matter of the NPC establishing a committee to investigate the assets of former ministers. He said that as far as his department is concerned, if the committee or the NPC wants to know how much land they own and an audit notice is issued, the Department of Lands will turn over the documents, because the department has ownership documents. But the department cannot reveal such information to anyone not concerned with the NPC or the Assets Investigation Committee. That would violate the rights of those people, which is a violation of the law. [passage omitted]

### Committee Members Profiled

91SE0177B Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 26 Feb 91  
p 21

#### [Text] General Sitthi Chirarot, Chairman

This former minister of interior, who is now 71 years old, was born on 25 April 1920. He graduated from the Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy (CRMA) in 1940, the same year as General Prem Tinsulanon. Another classmate was General San Chitpatima, the leader of the 1 April 1981 rebellion.

He served as the army attache in Washington, D.C., the director of logistics, the director of operations, the army chief of staff, and the undersecretary of defense. He is one of 24 Thai generals who served on the National Administrative Reform Council in 1976.

He was appointed minister of interior in 1981, a position that he held for five years. While minister of interior, he initiated a policy aimed at reducing vice, such as

reducing the number of days on which there are horse races, eliminating casinos, seizing illegal weapons, and so on.

Every time that a no-confidence debate was held on the government, he was one of the ministers subject to a no-confidence debate. It's thought that the people whose interests were at stake were trying to destroy him. However, the opposition was never able to do anything to this former minister. He was given the nickname "Baobun Sitthi."

He is married to Chuap Chirarot, the former secretary to the minister of education. They have four children. He is now retired and likes to read and follow the national news. He also writes political articles.

Gen. Sitthi once gave an interview after leaving his position as minister of interior. In that interview, he said that "I will not enter politics. I won't run for election as a member of some party. I just want to live like an ordinary person and be free of responsibilities."

The National Peacekeeping Council appointed him chairman of the Assets Investigation Committee on 25 February 1991.

#### Suthi Akatrak, Member

This man has been praised as a very honest government official. He has been very honest in carrying out his duties and has been commended by the Sapworanat Foundation.

He was born on 6 April 1928. He completed secondary school from the Suan Kulap Withayalai school. He earned his B.A. degree in law at Thammasat University. His first government position was with the National Inspection Department. Later on, he was selected by the Office of the Prime Minister to study for a master's degree in public administration at Thammasat University. He received a World Bank scholarship to study project evaluation in Karachi, Pakistan. He also received a scholarship from West Germany to study public administration there.

He is the person who established the Government Activities Information Center within the Office of the Prime Minister. He once served as an assistant investigator in land disputes and served on the committee to investigate debts. He also served as a mediator in resolving disputes for farmers in three administrations.

He served as the head of the Research Division, Office of the Undersecretary of the Prime Minister, the deputy director of the Information Center, secretary general of the Office of the Commission to Counter Corruption, undersecretary of the Office of the Prime Minister, and minister of finance.

He is married to Wimon Akatrak. They have one son and one daughter. He is a very unassuming person. Even when he was serving as the undersecretary of the Office

of the Prime Minister, he rode the bus to work every day. He drove a car only when on government business.

The NPC [National Peacekeeping Council] appointed him a member of the Assets Investigation Committee on 25 February 1991.

**Mr. Mongkhon Pao-in, Member**

He is now a retired judge. Before he retired, he served as a Supreme Court judge. Prior to that, he served as a judge in Nan and Uttaradit provinces and in Northern Bangkok. He was the chief justice of the Ubon Ratchathani provincial court and of the Criminal Court. He served as the director of the Legal Execution Department and as the chief justice of the Civil Court, the Region 3 and Region 8 courts, and the Supreme Court.

Special position: Member of the OCCC in 1989.

He is now 62 years old. He was born on 15 October 1929.

Education: Completed lower secondary school at Thepsirin School. Graduated from Triam Udom School. Earned his B.A. degree in law from Thammasat university and passed the bar. He became a judge in 1961.

**Police Lieutenant General Wirot Pao-in, Member**

He was born in December 1933. He graduated from CRMA as a member of Class 5 in 1958. He entered government service as a police officer in October 1958. His first position was deputy inspector for investigation at the Phlap Phalai Police Station. In August 1962 he was appointed inspector for investigation at the Pathumwan Police Station. In March 1970 he was appointed chief inspector at the Phya Thai Police Station. In October 1972 he was appointed deputy superintendent of the Metropolitan 4. In October 1976 he became the superintendent of the Metropolitan 9. In October 1980 he was appointed deputy commander of the Southern Bangkok Metropolitan Police. In October 1984 he was appointed a commander with the Border Patrol Police. In October 1986 he became the commander of the Northern Bangkok Metropolitan Police, and in October 1987 he was appointed assistant commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. In October 1988 he was appointed deputy commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, and in October 1990 he became the commissioner.

He is married to Winit Pao-in. They have three sons.

**Mr. Suchat Traiprasit, Member**

He is now a C-10 special prosecutor.

He was born on 10 May 1941. He is 50 years old.

He has served as the chief arbitrator of the director-general of the Department of Public Prosecution for ASEAN and the secretary general of the committee to draft a law on cooperation in criminal cases. He was appointed to serve as a representative in the negotiations

to work out a treaty between Thailand and Finland. He served as a member of the committee to study Ministry of Interior draft laws. He was a special instructor with the Faculty of Law at Chulalongkorn University.

**Chaichet Sunthoraphiphit, Member**

He is the secretary general of the Office of the Commission to Counter Corruption. He is the youngest son of an administrator named Phrya Sunthoraphiphit. He was born on 1 July 1937. He attended secondary school at Bangkok Christian School and Triam Udom School. He earned his B.A. in law from Thammasat University.

His first government position was with the Office of the Undersecretary to the Prime Minister. In November 1971, he entered the political arena when Field Marshal Thanom Kittikhachon, the head of the Revolutionary Council, appointed him assistant secretary to the Legal Affairs Advisory Team to the head of the Revolutionary Council.

In 1977, when Admiral Sangat Chaloyu was the head of the Revolutionary Council, Chaichet Sunthoraphiphit was ordered to work at the headquarters of the Revolutionary Council. Later on, he was made a legal advisor to the prime minister.

He has served as an assistant ministerial secretary and as the undersecretary to the Office of the Prime Minister. He has also served as the director of the Advisory Board and Committee Division, Office of the Secretary General to the Prime Minister, director of the Spokesman's Division, deputy secretary general of the OCCC, and member of the Communications Authority of Thailand.

He is married to Wimonphan Sunthoraphiphit. They have two children. His hobbies include making model airplanes. The NPC appointed him to the Assets Investigation Committee on 25 February 1991.

**Mr. Phaisan Kumanwisai, Member**

He was born on 9 October 1929. He earned his bachelor's degree in law and passed the bar in Thailand and earned his L.L.M. degree in the United States. He graduated from the National Defense College and went to work for the Censor Division, Supreme Court. He served as the head of the Legal Affairs Division, Ministry of Justice. He also served as a trial judge, an appeals judge, the director of the Legal Affairs Department of the Bank of Thailand, the assistant governor of the Bank of Thailand, and the deputy governor of the Bank of Thailand.

**Committee Chair Sitthi Interviewed**

91SE0177C Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 26 Feb 91  
p 24

[Interview with General Sitthi Chirarot, Assets Investigation Committee chairman; date and place not given]

[Text] Note: The National Peacekeeping Council issued Announcement 26 forming a seven-man committee to investigate the assets of politicians who served as ministers or who held other political positions and who are unusually wealthy. General Sitthi Chirarot is the chairman of this committee. This committee will play a very important role and so MATICHON interviewed Gen. Sitthi in his capacity as committee chairman in order to obtain information about the investigation and learn his views about the problem of corruption among politicians. The following is a transcription of the taped interview.

[MATICHON] Would you tell us about your appointment?

[Sitthi] The first thing is to see what powers and duties they have given us. Let's look at this broadly. Now that they have asked us to serve on this committee, we have to prepare ourselves. We have to know exactly what our powers and duties are. We have to think about what needs to be done first and how we are to accomplish our tasks.

[MATICHON] With the people who have been appointed committee members, do you think that the committee will be able to do a good job?

[Sitthi] We have the authority to form subcommittees. If they give us that authority.... If I heard correctly, they have given us the power to form subcommittees. Those subcommittees will be composed of government officials concerned. I am concerned about this. To be frank, I am very concerned, because I have never been involved with anything like this. Thus, I will have to rely heavily on others. I will have to rely on those who have experience. We will have to choose subcommittee members. We will probably form several groups or teams and ask them to provide us with ideas about what to do and how to proceed.

This is not a pleasant matter. It would be more fun if I were the deputy head of an advisory team. Because the only job of an advisory team is to study an assigned issue and give advice about that matter. That is easy, because they would tell us what the line or policy is. Or we would break up into teams, which would enable us to generate ideas. We have not met yet. Meetings will be arranged with the council. They have invited all the advisors in order to inform us about the policy and line. They will turn over what data they have and tell us what they want us to study.

As for the chief advisor and his deputy, I think that various people are responsible for different matters. Each group has its own people. If something concerns a particular group, we will submit the matter to that group for consideration. They will then submit their views to us, to the chairman or deputy chairman. If the chairman or deputy chairman feel that it is appropriate, we will submit the matter to the National Peacekeeping Council. Or they may submit something to us for study, and we will study the matter.

[MATICHON] How will the Assets Investigation Committee decide whom to investigate?

[Sitthi] We will have to see what the policy of the NPC [National Peacekeeping Council] is. Because for us.... Let me give you an example. As the committee chairman, I don't have any data. We must not forget that before the OCCC can take action, a complaint must be lodged with the OCCC. We can't just say that this person is unusually wealthy or that that person is corrupt. We can't do that. There must be data, or evidence, that the committee can study.

[MATICHON] Will the public or people in general be allowed to file complaints or submit data? Would that help speed up the investigation?

[Sitthi] I read today's editorial in MATICHON, which called for allowing people to express their views and keeping people informed. Regarding this, until we have reached a final decision on who is right and who is wrong, we can't reveal anything. The same thing is true of the OCCC. It can't reveal anything about a matter that is still under consideration.

[MATICHON] The announcement stated that once an investigation has been made, the people will be informed.

[Sitthi] Once the matter has been settled. But during the investigation, we can't reveal anything, because we don't know what the truth is.

[MATICHON] Will you be able to complete your work in a short period of time?

[Sitthi] I am concerned about this. I think that it will be possible to finish some cases in a short period of time. But we won't be able to expand things.

[MATICHON] What are the difficulties involved in investigating elected politicians in view of the fact that the assets of such people have never before been seized?

[Sitthi] When I served as minister of interior, I was responsible for the corrupt acts of government officials. That was easier. We formed a committee to investigate the facts. If there were grounds for believing the charges, we could discipline and then punish the people involved.

But if the matter concerns other people, such as politicians, we have to look at the announcement. They have stipulated who must provide evidence, documents, and so on to the committee. Our job is to consider the evidence. Each case will be difficult and protracted.

[MATICHON] All during the time of the previous administration, charges were made against almost every ministry. Because of this, will it take a long time to investigate things?

[Sitthi] As I said, things must be divided. Various subcommittees must be established to handle different cases. One subcommittee, for example, can focus on this

person, and another subcommittee can focus on that person. The work must be divided. Otherwise, we won't be able to finish things on time. We can't just make charges against people. But these things did not originate with me, the chairman. The NPC has data and will provide us with those data so that we can determine whom to investigate.

[MATICHON] That should speed up things.

[Sitthi] It may speed up things in general. But as for the various cases, the fact is.... Let me give you an example. You may say that that person is unusually wealthy. In the past he was wealthy, but now, somehow, he has become unusually wealthy. That is just a suspicion. It will be difficult to prove anything unless we have evidence.

[MATICHON] In view of the fact that you know the people under investigation and have dealt with them on various occasions, will it be difficult for the committee to carry out its tasks?

[Sitthi] The fact that they have honored us by giving us this difficult but important task shows that they feel that we will be fair. We won't be prevented from taking action because it involves our friends. To put it simply, we are committed. If we were going to do that, we would not have accepted. That would have been the end of it.

[MATICHON] We would like to ask your views about the problem of corruption. In your view, what is the situation like? Is it as bad as some people have said? How concerned are you?

[Sitthi] This was made clear in Statement 1 or 2. It is discussed in the first paragraph. The NPC feels that this is very important. There are many facts. Thus, I feel that this problem does exist. There must be corruption.

[MATICHON] If the assets of people are seized, will they also face criminal charges?

[Sitthi] Yes. If they have violated the Criminal Code, we will inform the police.

[MATICHON] The OCCC can't touch them, because it deals only with civil servants, is that right?

[Sitthi] Yes. The OCCC deals only with civil servants. But actually, that includes political officials.

[MATICHON] But political officials control the OCCC.

[Sitthi] That's right. But no one controls me.

[MATICHON] Will the special action committees remain?

[Sitthi] I don't know anything about that.

[MATICHON] Do you think that investigative committees such as the OCCC should be independent organizations?

[Sitthi] I don't know anything about policy matters. Actually, the OCCC is responsible for such matters as

this. The OCCC is already responsible for most of these matters. I think that they established this committee to conduct investigations only during this period of turmoil. They want things cleared up as quickly as possible. I don't plan on remaining in this position for an indefinite period of time.

[MATICHON] Many of the wealthy politicians are involved with financial institutions. Will it be difficult to get these financial institutions to cooperate?

[Sitthi] We are concerned about this. I am very worried about this. Suppose that they have ten pieces of evidence. They may give us only five or six pieces. But the announcement clearly states that those who withhold evidence requested by the committee will be punished.

[MATICHON] Will the asset accounts of the ministers that were submitted to the OCCC be examined again, and how reliable are they?

[Sitthi] I think that we will request them. We have the right to examine them. We have the right to examine them, but we can't reveal anything about this. It's only right that we not reveal anything about them. Even the OCCC has not revealed anything. But we do have the right to examine them.

[MATICHON] When will the NPC meet with the advisory team?

[Sitthi] They have not yet set a time. Initially, they wanted to meet with us tomorrow (26 February), but I said that that was not possible. That was too soon, because more than 30 people were appointed. Some of the people may have had business and gone somewhere. They may not have been free. I said that the meeting should be scheduled for Wednesday. They will announce the date and location later.

[MATICHON] You have met the RTA CINC [Royal Thai Army Commander in Chief] before, right?

[Sitthi] Yes. I went to see him as an invited guest. So did Professor Bunchana (Atthakon). As the chairman and vice chairman, we met with him in order to learn what the line is. This is a personal matter. Actually, a statement will be issued in the name of the NPC on the day that he meets with all of us.

We met yesterday morning. I was the one who said that everyone should be present in order to inform them of the objectives and lines of the NPC so that we know what to do. They should tell us so that the advisory team will know what it is supposed to do and what its responsibilities are.

[MATICHON] How long did the meeting last?

[Sitthi] Not very long. About 45 minutes. We talked about our appointment as advisors. We did not talk about the matter of investigating the people's assets, because that had not yet been announced.



[MATICHON] Today, there have been reports that the NPC will form a civilian government composed entirely of outsiders.

[Sitthi] I have not heard that. Someone told me that he had given an interview. But I had not heard that.

[MATICHON] There will have to be a government.

[Sitthi] If he said that, there will have to be a government.

[MATICHON] If he asked you to become the prime minister, would you accept?

[Sitthi] What! I don't have the ability to become prime minister. (laughs)

[MATICHON] What is your view on the government that will be formed?

[Sitthi] I don't have any views. You have to understand that I was not involved in seizing administrative power.

[MATICHON] Did the RTA CINC seem tense when you met with him yesterday morning?

[Sitthi] No. The RTA CINC is never tense.

[MATICHON] He isn't afraid of complications?

[Sitthi] No.

[MATICHON] The RTA CINC is a favored student of yours, isn't that right?

[Sitthi] How can you say that? (laughs) Everyone is a student.

[MATICHON] When did you first meet the RTA CINC?

[Sitthi] When I was with the Operations Center. I was already a senior officer.

[MATICHON] While working with him, when did you first notice his brilliance?

[Sitthi] If I had not recognized his intelligence, why would I have asked him to become the secretary to the minister of interior?

[MATICHON] Did you ever think that the RTA CINC would someday decide to seize power this way?

[Sitthi] I am very concerned about the country. But I frequently told him that I was opposed to this. I didn't want this. But he announced that this was necessary. I frequently told him that he must be very careful and give much thought to this. I applaud him for being so careful.

It's true that things may have swayed back and forth on Friday night. But then suddenly, the announcement was made at 1430 hours on Saturday. They maintained good secrecy. There will always be leaks about such things, but they were able to control the situation at various points. That is why they succeeded.

[MATICHON] There have been reports that the United States will cut its aid to Thailand. Will this affect the administration of the country?

[Sitthi] I don't think that they will do that. They shouldn't do that.

[MATICHON] Now that you have been appointed chairman of the Assets Investigation Committee, couldn't they announce that you have been appointed prime minister?

[Sitthi] I don't know. I don't know. That is the responsibility of the NPC. Something that is important is that people shouldn't think that the NPC can do anything it wants.

[MATICHON] Do you have any advice to give to the NPC about what to watch out for or what it should do?

[Sitthi] I have said a few things. I have said that I was very glad to hear that they had relaxed things yesterday with respect to the newspapers and radio and television. I think that that is a good starting point, because we feel that the mass media has cooperated well with us. Any steps that can be taken to relax things should be taken. I am very happy about this and have spoken about this.

The important thing is that they have allowed us to do this. The duty of the mass media.... They spoke openly yesterday. But the mass media must cooperate, too. As for people planting bombs in order to stir up trouble, I don't think that this will cause much alarm, because the NPC is intent on solving the problems. They have stated that. Thus, I don't think that they are very concerned about that. But preventing terrorism or bombings here or there is very difficult.

What is clear is that the NPC is making a great effort to maintain the image of the military. Today, for example, they announced that military vehicles have now been removed from various points. At the military bases, guards are on duty at the gates as usual.

### **End to Anti-Communist Law Sought**

*91SE0175A Bangkok KHAO PHISIT in Thai  
18-24 Feb 91 pp 5, 6*

[Letter to the Editor in the name of the people of the south]

[Excerpts] **18 February 1991**

The government should repeal the Anti-Communist Law and grant amnesty to those accused of being communists.

Actually, in the past, there were no terrorists, or communists, in Thailand. This started as a result of people's resentment or anger. Because of a conflict of interest between state officials, meaning the police, and the certain people or groups, people started killing each other. They were accused of being communists as a

cover. As a result, their relatives rose up and fought back against state officials. Later on, the Anti-Communist Law was promulgated. The state officials used the people's taxes to suppress and kill fellow countrymen without reason. This created problems that still exist. This poses a great danger to the country. Government officials frequently charge those with whom they are unhappy with being communists. Good people have been charged, suppressed, and killed, or they have had to live in fear. Thus, people have had to rise up and fight back, because they had no other choice. They were, in effect, pushed into a corner. They have had to fight for survival. Thus, I ask the country, particularly the government, to repeal this law. [passage omitted]

Once the Anti-Communist Law has been repealed, amnesty should be granted to all of those who have been charged under the law. Because all of those charged under this law, or who have been accused of engaging in communist activities in Thailand, did what they did for the reasons discussed above. Thus, they should all be granted amnesty in the name of justice. Everyone wants to be a good person. If a person is branded as a communist, he can't be at ease. How can he conduct himself properly? He must constantly be on guard. If he surrenders, he won't be safe. He will constantly be accused of things. Even if he helps the country, he will still be condemned. Thus, such people can never be happy. If this law remains in effect, state officials, particularly the police or other factions that use the police as a tool, will continue to use this law to destroy the hearts and minds of the people. Because whenever they become upset about something, they will charge people with being communists. The people will have to flee into the jungle. This number will continue to rise. Shouldn't we be ashamed that civilized countries consider Thailand to be full of communist. Wouldn't it be better to tell them that there are no communists in Thailand and that the government and the people live together like brothers? Today, there are frequently reports about the government having to suppress people. That indicates that our country is a backward country. For this reason, the Anti-Communist Law should be repealed, and amnesty should be granted to those who have been branded as communists. [passage omitted] In governing the people, there must be laws but not laws like this. [passage omitted]

## MILITARY

### Suchinda Discusses Reasons for Coup, Prospects

91SE0180B Bangkok NAE0 NA in Thai 25 Feb 91 p 2

[Interview with General Suchinda Khraprayun by NAE0 NA; date and place not given]

[Text] [NAEO NA] What preparations are being made?

[Suchinda] We will maintain things until there is an election. We intend to hold an election within six months. The work committees are composed mainly of

experts and academics from the various parties. These are good representatives whom the people respect. You also have to understand the election mechanism.

[NAEO NA] Other countries are upset that a coup was staged to seize power. The United States has announced that it will suspend economic aid. What action will be taken on this?

[Suchinda] I am not very concerned about that. We considered matters carefully before taking action. We discussed the necessity of taking this action and the fact that this would lead to an economic slow down. But moving backward one step now will enable us to move forward 10 steps in the future. Because if we had not taken action, we would have fallen into a chasm. We knew that this would affect the economy. But we have tried to minimize the effects. At the same time, the mass media can play a very helpful role.

[NAEO NA] The goal is to return power to the people within six months. But if this is not done within six months, it will be charged that you are dictators.

[Suchinda] We have been very careful every step of the way and done things with a pure heart. Because in the present political system, there are many things that are unacceptable to the people. This includes corruption and vote buying. In particular, money is used to buy votes during elections. Many MPs did not win election just by using money. They also had the support of influential people. Today, those engaged in illegal activities and who have money have to respect government officials. But once they become politicians, the government officials have to respect them. This will continue to happen unless we take action to stop this.

[NAEO NA] How sure are you that you will be able to solve these problems within six months?

[Suchinda] We are fairly confident. But I can't answer that. But I can say that we are resolved.

[NAEO NA] Where is the former prime minister, and what action will be taken against him?

[Suchinda] We probably won't do anything to him. We respect him and have asked him to stay in a very comfortable place. There are no problems. Once the situation has quieted down, we will release him. There is no need to worry. The [former] prime minister and I are very close. I call him "phi" [elder brother], because he belongs to a senior military class. I have known him for a long time. We traveled together 15-20 years ago.

[NAEO NA] Major General Manun has forces at his disposal. Could he put up much resistance?

[Suchinda] I never thought that Maj. Gen. Manun had any forces. I don't think that he has any forces at his disposal.

[NAEO NA] Every time that there is a change, government officials become alarmed. They are afraid that they

will be transferred or dismissed. Will there be any transfers or dismissals this time?

[Suchinda] Not in principle, except for those who have exhibited various weaknesses. This is something for the government units to consider. We won't do anything unusual. Everything will proceed as usual.

[NAEO NA] Will you call in the former ministers, party leaders, or party secretaries-general to inform them of the policy or given them orders?

[Suchinda] We won't order them to come but will probably invite them to come talk about policy matters.

[NAEO NA] Why haven't you announced the dissolution of the political parties in view of the fact that the constitution will be revised?

[Suchinda] If we disbanded the political parties, that would be tantamount to denying [democratic] administration. We have left the political parties intact. But they will be temporarily prohibited from engaging in political activities. Our goal is to have the same type of democratic system. We want to have the same type of democratic system.

[NAEO NA] As for allowing the mass media to print the truth, if people say something negative about the National Peacekeeping Council [NPC], can the press print that?

[Suchinda] We will have to ask the press to show some restraint. If someone who is strongly opposed to us is interviewed and his statements are printed on the front page, that could have an effect. We would probably have to call people in and talk about that.

[NAEO NA] How many people are being detained?

[Suchinda] The only people who have been detained are those who were accompanying the prime minister. The group accompanying him was very small.

[NAEO NA] Have the 43 people charged with attempted assassination been arrested?

[Suchinda] That is a police matter. We are not involved. That is up to the Police Department. The council is not involved in that. That matter has been turned over to the director-general of the Police Department.

[NAEO NA] What about the arrest of Maj. Gen. Manun?

[Suchinda] Maj. Gen. Manun will be arrested because he has been deeply involved in various matters that have generated turmoil in the country.

[NAEO NA] Will you ask the former ministers who have been involved in scandals to come see you or take action against them?

[Suchinda] Our objective is not to take action against particular people. Look at our general principles. The committee that we plan to establish or the OCCC [Office

of the Commission to Counter Corruption] will be the ones that will consider such matters. We will entrust them with this task. But we have not yet decided whether to form a special committee or whether to use the OCCC.

[NAEO NA] What steps will be taken to prevent people from buying votes?

[Suchinda] There are several things that can be done. The constitution draft committee must take action. At this time, I can't say exactly what steps will be taken.

[NAEO NA] Have you decided who will head the government?

[Suchinda] We haven't thought about that yet.

[NAEO NA] You have said that the constitution will be revised. Will the law be changed to require the political parties to play a greater role in controlling their members. That is, will it also be necessary to revise the Political Parties Act?

[Suchinda] I can't give you any details about that, because I am not an expert on that. That is a matter for the committee.

[NAEO NA] You had an audience with the king yesterday. Can you tell us about that?

[Suchinda] The king has shown great kindness to his subjects. He made several recommendations. He also told us not to disappoint the people. We will heed his words. He made several suggestions, but I am not at liberty to say anything. He is very kind and generous.

[NAEO NA] If you had not staged this coup, what would have happened to the monarchy?

[Suchinda] What was done to the monarchy was a terrible wrong. And that was intentional. If what has been learned is true, people with bad intentions toward the monarchy were in positions of power and were serving as advisers to senior people in the government. You can see what could have happened to the country.

[NAEO NA] Why was that allowed to continue for nine years?

[Suchinda] You will have to ask the Police Department.

[NAEO NA] What action will be taken against Ban Phitsanulok?

[Suchinda] We don't plan to take any action against the Ban Phitsanulok advisers. We think that some action should be taken, but the fact is, we can't do anything. In certain respects, they were given too much power. As far as the law is concerned, that was harmful. That is, people used their powers improperly. That is dangerous. Thus, you have to listen to the views of various groups. We will do what we want but within the framework of the law. There is a division of power. When we had the Marketing Organization for Farmers, officials used this to

profit personally. The abuse of power is a concern. Everyone wants to do something about this. Thus, we must take steps to curb this. There is no reason to worry, because this is one of our main targets. Action will be taken on this.

[NAEO NA] Does the NPC plan to govern the country in the form of a temporary government or in the form of a council? How will decisions be made?

[Suchinda] You sound like the wife of a soldier. Very bright but obstinate. If a government is formed, it will have to be a temporary government. It will be formed in order to prepare for the election. If a government is formed at this time, it will be in that form.

[NAEO NA] There have been unconfirmed reports about who will be asked to serve as the temporary prime minister. For example, there have been reports that General Prem or General Thianchai will be asked.

[Suchinda] I don't know people's views. There are many people on the council. The council has not discussed this. I don't know what people think. We have not discussed this.

[NAEO NA] There have been reports that General Chawalit will be asked to help the council.

[Suchinda] That probably won't be necessary. He is the leader of the New Hope Party. A minute ago, you asked why we haven't disbanded the political parties. One reason is that we feel sorry for him. He established that party just recently. If we did that, he would say, "Hey, Su, what are you doing to me now?" We will remain neutral. We won't lean toward any side.

[NAEO NA] After these six months, how will the government be formed, and who will be appointed prime minister?

[Suchinda] I can't say. That depends on the constitution that will be drafted. We don't know whether the prime minister will be an elected official. That is one way. But the main thing is to prevent vote buying. And we must ensure that people do not use money that others have invested and that must be repaid in one way or another. We want to eliminate these things from our political system.

[NAEO NA] Will MPs be prohibited from serving as ministers?

[Suchinda] I can't answer that here. But I have said that in principle, that is what we want.

[NAEO NA] The present constitution has been suspended. Do you think that the prime minister should or should not be an elected official? If someone proposed that you become prime minister, would you accept?

[Suchinda] I have said many times that I have no desire to become involved in politics. I don't want to become involved. We were forced to take action this time,

because if we hadn't, the situation in the country would have grown worse and worse and it would have reached the point where nothing could be done. We were afraid of parliamentary dictatorship, which claimed to be democratic. Actually, that was not democracy. Take the Philippines, for example, which fell under the control of Marcos. They had a parliament, and look what happened to the people there. The same thing was happening in Thailand.

[NAEO NA] What effect will this have on the stock market?

[Suchinda] I think that this will have some effect. As I have said before, several of us play the stock market. On Monday, I plan to go buy more shares.

[NAEO NA] The announcement stated that the prime minister was not giving any attention to solving various problems. Is the former prime minister guilty of any crime?

[Suchinda] That is up to the committee. It depends on the evidence. I can't say that this or that person will be tried. In making charges against people, there may not be any evidence against them.

[NAEO NA] Charges have already been made, haven't they?

[Suchinda] It's the press that has made charges.

[NAEO NA] Will you ask MR [royal title] Khukrit to provide advice?

[Suchinda] I don't think so. He has washed his hands of politics. He has made his position quite clear. We have to respect his wishes as an honored person and as a philosopher and artist. He is superior to ordinary people. Everyone respects his ideas. He is still quite vigorous. We are ready to hear his recommendations in the newspaper.

[NAEO NA] What action will be taken against Maj Gen Manun? And what will be done if he flees abroad?

[Suchinda] Things must be done in accord with the law. Steps must be taken in the proper sequence. He must be treated fairly. As for leaving the country, consent is a political science reason. We want to restore calm as quickly as possible.

[NAEO NA] If Maj. Gen. Manun flees abroad, will you ask that he be returned to stand trial?

[Suchinda] That is a legal course of action. If the police obtain evidence showing that he has committed a crime, we can ask that he be returned to Thailand.

[NAEO NA] Did MR Khukrit give the green light for this coup?

[Suchinda] No. He does not control any forces.

[NAEO NA] What steps will be taken with respect to the Cambodia problem?

[Suchinda] That is a matter for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As far as our policy toward Cambodia is concerned, we want peace restored as soon as possible, and we want this to benefit Thailand as much as possible. Actually, the army has been involved with this problem since the very beginning. Thus, we know just as much about this problem as officials in other sectors. To solve this problem, people will have to compromise. The various factions must recognize each other. The Khmer Rouge must be allowed to cooperate, too, because if it isn't, the Khmer Rouge won't agree. How could they in view of the fact that they have large forces there. They have been fighting for a long time. As for the work team, there aren't any problems.

[NAEO NA] Did you take this action because of the rumors that the heads of the services were going to be dismissed?

[Suchinda] First, I don't think that that was true, and second, that was not our reason for taking this action. As I have said, there were those who said that I was going to be dismissed. But Gen. Chatchai contacted me and asked me to serve as supreme commander and RTA CINC [Royal Thai Army Commander in Chief].

[NAEO NA] There are reports that this stemmed from the fact that General Athit was going to be appointed deputy minister of defense?

[Suchinda] That's not true. We would not use such a minor matter as an excuse to do something affecting the entire country. As I have told reporters, Gen. Athit was already the deputy prime minister. He was involved in security matters. Actually, appointing him deputy minister of defense was tantamount to demoting him. The position of deputy prime minister is higher than that of deputy minister. There is no reason for a person who has served as deputy prime minister to want a position as deputy minister.

[NAEO NA] Is he still under detention?

[Suchinda] Please don't say that he is under detention. We have provided him with a place to stay. He is more comfortable than he would be at home, because he is safer. If anything happened to him, we would be blamed.

[NAEO NA] Why won't you accept both positions?

[Suchinda] Because I don't want to betray those senior to me.

[NAEO NA] Is that a principle?

[Suchinda] It isn't a principle. As I have said, there were people who wanted to destroy the solidarity and unity of the military using various methods.

[NAEO NA] Ever since you were appointed RTA CINC, you have said that soldiers must be patient. Was the recent situation too much to bear?

[Suchinda] No. We have to be patient. But soldiers must make sacrifices. Everything that we do is a sacrifice. I never wanted to take such action. But I realized that if we did not take action, the country would suffer. Thus, we had to take action. But we consulted with all factions. We discussed this with various people for an hour.

[NAEO NA] When did the prime minister offer you the two positions?

[Suchinda] About seven or eight days ago. I told the supreme commander about this. He said, "I will be retiring in September. What could they do to me?"

[NAEO NA] After 1 September, will you assume both positions?

[Suchinda] That time hasn't come yet. No one wants to work that hard. I don't like to work that hard. If I don't have so much work to do, I can do a good job. But if there is too much to do, I may not be able to do a good job. But this depends on various factors and on the situation. As for what will happen in the future, that depends on various factors. The air, for example, is a factor. It could be poisonous. My wife is a factor. We are surrounded by environmental factors. The people near us are factors. My deputy may say, "Hey, get out. I will take over." Those are all factors. (General Isaraphong said that "that is not true.")

[NAEO NA] Will Maj. Gen. Manun have to leave his position?

[Suchinda] We haven't considered what action to take concerning this. If he does not report for duty.... There are time limits. But he may have submitted a request for leave. We will have to see how many days he is gone. If he is absent from duty, steps will have to be taken in accord with the law and regulations, because no one is above the law or regulations.

[NAEO NA] Will the military pursue Manun?

[Suchinda] No. That is the duty of the police.

[NAEO NA] What about Minister Chaloeam?

[Suchinda] That is up to the police. He may not be guilty of anything. He may just have disappeared.

[NAEO NA] If Maj. Gen. Manun does not show up and does not report for duty, what is the next step that will be taken?

[Suchinda] There are regulations. If he does not report for duty, there are regulations. That is, he can be dismissed from his position.

[NAEO Na] Yesterday afternoon, students from Ramkhamhaeng University distributed leaflets opposing this coup. How will you explain this to students?

[Suchinda] We will be able to do that. But if anyone violates the announcement or orders, we will take resolute action. Otherwise, it will be impossible for us to maintain order in the country. We have explained things on television. Everyone should understand those things. We hope that the mass media will help, because if there is any more turmoil, the economy will suffer even more. Our policy is to hold an election as quickly as possible. Everyone must try to monitor things and see if that can be done. But if those who have suffered losses try to stir up more trouble, the losses will be even greater.

[NAEO NA] You have been in control for 24 hours now. Have there been any reports of disturbances, and how long will military forces remain in place?

[Suchinda] We will withdraw some elements today. We are waiting until Monday. I help that nothing unusual happens. I hope that there aren't any disturbances. But force may be required at certain important points. Thus, we must keep forces there. But most of the forces will be withdrawn by tomorrow.

#### Army Units Participating in Coup

91SE0180A Bangkok NAEO NA in Thai 25 Feb 91 p 3

[Text] A successful coup was staged by the National Peacekeeping Council under the leadership of General Sunthon Khongsomphon, the supreme commander, on 23 February. One of the units used to carry out this coup was the 1st King's Guard Infantry Division commanded by Major General Chainarong Nunphakdi. The important elements of this division based in Bangkok were the 1st King's Guard Infantry Regiment and the 11th King's Guard Infantry Regiment.

Besides the 1st King's Guard Infantry Division, another unit that played just as important a role as the 1st Infantry Division was the AAA Division, which is commanded by Major General Samphao Chusi. The important elements of this division were the 1st and 2d AAA regiments.

It is well known that the main military units in the Bangkok area are important bases of support of CRMA [Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy] Class 5 officers. Lieutenant General San Siphon, the Army Region 1 commander, once served as the commander of the 1st King's Guard Infantry Division, and General Wirot Saengsanit, the army chief of staff, once commanded the AAA Division. Today, a former aide, Colonel Surachet Hoprachum, commands the 2d AAA Regiment.

Regarding this latest coup in Thailand, it is worth noting that no cavalry unit in the Bangkok area participated in this coup that toppled the government of General Chatchai Chunhawan. The 2d King's Guard Cavalry Division, particularly the 4th Battalion of the 2d Cavalry Regiment, which played an important role in previous

rebellions and which is the unit that was commanded by Major General Manun Rupkhachon, played no role whatsoever in this coup.

At the 2d King's Guard Cavalry Division at the Pao Base, two tanks were parked in front of the camp just in order to prevent other forces from entering the camp. At the 4th Cavalry Battalion, 2d Cavalry Regiment, the commissary was closed.

Prior to this, there had periodically been reports about the problem of unity within the army. This concerned the cavalry units. It was said that the cavalry units were not responding to the efforts to stage a coup or make preparations to deal with the pressure applied by the government. It was said that the cavalry units had split apart from the other military units, which supported their superior officers, the core of which are CRMA Class 5 officers.

The reaction on the part of the cavalry units cleared the way at the senior command level. The belief that the cavalry would not take any such action ended reports about a possible coup.

The cavalry's attitude about the coup staged by the four branches of service stems from its ties with Major General Manun Rupkhachon. Many of the younger cavalry officers rose through the ranks with the support of Major General Manun, who has been called a professional rebel. He has helped them with their educations and given them financial support.

That is the good image that people have of Major General Manun, who is respected and loved by cavalry officers. Thus, less than a week before this coup, Major General Manun was confident that "wearing just a pair of underpants, with 40 tanks I could immediately seize power."

This confidence and his close ties to the cavalry finally led to this coup. Major General Manun was so confident that he forgot the importance of the other combat forces under the control of CRMA Class 5. Major General Manun was marked for revenge and so he has once again had to flee as a "rebel."

The changes that will be made in the cavalry units are something worth following in the days ahead, particularly with respect to Major General Thotsaphon Songsuwan, the commander of the 2d King's Guard Cavalry Division. But no one can guarantee that the blood transfusion given to the cavalry will be successful as long as people still hold a grudge.

#### ECONOMIC

##### Conglomerate Plans Ho Chi Minh City Glass Plant

91SE0212A Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English  
15 Mar 91 p 26

[Article by Phiphat Loetkittisuk]

[Excerpt] Berli Jucker Co., one of the country's leading trading companies, plans to set up a glass production

plant in Ho Chi Minh City, southern Vietnam, in a joint venture with the Ho Chi Minh City Government.

The project will cost about 500 million baht.

The investment is part of the company's plan to expand its operation in the region.

Berli Jucker president Dr. Adul Amatavivadhana and executive vice-president Prasert Maekwatana said the company was negotiating with the People's Committee of Ho Chi Minh over the joint venture.

The factory would aim to produce glass bottles at the capacity of 100 tons per day.

It was agreed in principle the Ho Chi Minh City Government would hold 30 percent equity in the project while Berli Jucker would hold 70 percent.

A small glass plant near Ho Chi Minh City which had operated for decades had become a condition in negotiations between the two parties.

Dr. Adul said Berli Jucker proposed that the existing factory be demolished after the new plant started operating, but this had not yet been agreed on.

The demolition would make the company's project more feasible.

Final approval for the glass plant project must come from the Government in Hanoi, and Berli Jucker already had requested investment privileges from the Vietnamese Government.

Revenue from the investment would be in Vietnamese currency and Dr. Adul said Berli was working out plans to turn this into hard currencies.

Apart from this, Berli Jucker was negotiating with German company Agfa Gavaert to sell photographic products in Vietnam after Berli successfully expanded into new markets in Burma.

"We considered Vietnam as a high-potential market, so apart from the current availability of our consumer goods in the market, we plan to expand our business there and we are confident about it," Dr. Adul said.

[passage omitted]

#### **Police: Investigations Launched on IPR Violations**

91SE0212B Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English  
26 Mar 91 pp 17, 26

[Article by Ratchapol Laovanitch and Somporn Thapachai]

[Text] The Economic Crime Suppression Division has launched investigations into allegations from American industry associations that their members' copyrights are being breached.

Division chief Pol Maj. Gen. Watin Kamsongsri said yesterday the legal representatives of two American trade bodies had filed petitions with the Police Department last week seeking action against copyright pirates.

Pol. Maj. Gen. Watin refused to name the associations, but the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) and Motion Picture Exporters Association of America (MPEAA) earlier filed petitions under Section 301 of the U.S. Trade Act complaining about Thai inaction in protecting copyrights. The U.S. Trade Representative is now investigating the matter.

The division is investigating the associations' allegations and compiling evidence before launching raids on suspected pirates producing music tapes and video tapes.

The commander of the Alien Registration and Taxation Office said a task force was expected to take action this week against suspected offenders.

He hinted that the task force's first suspect was located in a northern province and was a major distributor of copied products in the northern area.

Pol. Maj. Gen. Watin said the division last year appointed a special working group to handle copyright, patent and trademark cases.

U.S. trade associations in the past filed complaints with district police stations rather than direct with the division, but he said these local police did not have the expertise to investigate copyright breaches as they were overloaded with more serious and urgent crimes.

Division deputy-director Pol. Col. Wallop Wajanapukka said the representatives of the U.S. industry associations had now pursued all legal channels open to them after talks in California on 8-9 March between a Thai delegation led by Commerce Deputy Permanent Secretary Krirkkrai Jiraphaet and U.S. Trade Representative officials.

Pol. Col. Wallop said the Thai delegation advised that the associations must go through the proper channels related to intellectual property rights [IPR] protection.

The U.S. officials were also told about guidelines being drafted by the Public Prosecution department for use by district police investigating copyright infringements.

The Public Prosecution Department has assigned the matter to its Economic and Resource Prosecutor Division.

A report compiled by the Public Prosecution Department shows there were 186 complaints lodged with local police in 1989-90, 119 of which were finalised through prosecution, 33 were dropped because of insufficient evidence, 29 were withdrawn and five are still pending.

The report also showed there were 108 court convictions after most defendants pleaded guilty and were fined 10,000-15,000 baht or imprisoned for around two months.

**Commerce Asked To Reset Export Targets**

91SE0212C Bangkok THE NATION in English  
13 Mar 91 p B1

[Article by Aphisak Thanasetthakon]

[Excerpt] In an attempt to reduce the trade deficit, the Business Economics Department will propose to the Commerce Minister to adjust the 1991 export-import

target and also focus on Indochina and the African nations as future markets for Thai exports.

Under the proposal, to be submitted to the Commerce Ministry for scrutiny, the department will seek the readjustment of the export target at Bt690 billion, an increase from Bt670 billion as set earlier. Imports are believed to have reduced from Bt980 billion to Bt945 billion, resulting in the lessening of the trade deficit from Bt310 billion to Bt255 billion. Phisit Setthawong the department's deputy director, said that the proposal will be presented to Commerce Minister Amaret Sila-on later this week.

[passage omitted] .



## POLITICAL

**Former NHAN DAN Editor Bui Tin Interviewed in Paris**

912E0148A Paris QUE ME in Vietnamese Jan-Feb 91  
pp 17-28

[Interview with Bui Tin, the Former Editor of NHAN DAN, by Kim Phung; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [QUE ME] Thank you for granting us this interview. May we record the interview?

[Bui Tin] Yes, please feel at ease. It's too bad that there isn't any exchange between our country and the outside. We don't know anything about QUE ME. (We suddenly thought of several articles critical of QUE ME concerning "The Operation to Shift the Fire to the Homeland" that appeared in NHAN DAN and QUAN DOI NHAN DAN this year. Bui Tin certainly didn't read those—QUE ME.) Even DOAN KET is available there on a very limited basis. In Vietnam today, there is just one party, the communist party. The party is strong in numbers, with 1.7 million members. There are no other parties. There are also fronts, but these are really the party. There are also women's youth, intellectual, and trade union organizations. In the past, there were also the democracy and the socialist parties, but these have been disbanded.

[QUE ME] Why were they disbanded?

[Bui Tin] They were disbanded because they were established in 1945 and 1946. The average age of members of the Democracy Party was 68, and the average age of members of the Socialist Party was 73. One time when Truong Chinh came for a visit, the youngest person he could find was 64 years old. They were passe. They were no longer youth parties. Those were rank and file intellectuals and businessmen. They didn't give any thought to expanding the party. The elite peasants, workers, and intellectuals all joined the communist party.

[QUE ME] But the communist party has not been able to solve the nationalities problem.

[Bui Tin] Although I disagree with a number of things, how could anything be done in those conditions? Each of us must take steps to awaken the great majority of people with standards in the party in order to exert pressure on the leaders to change. That is my opinion. There is no other path. According to the constitution, no other organization can be organized. It's a solitary party. In my view, conditions must be prepared for advancing to pluralism. Pluralism with constructive parties that have a spirit toward the fatherland and clear political views. But they must not oppose each other, with the situation becoming violent and anarchic. Places can't have 200 political organizations.

[QUE ME] Pushing aside rebellious and anarchic organizations, has the communist party opposed political ideas different from Marxism-Leninism?

[Bui Tin] According to a statement made by Nguyen Van Linh, the communist party has determined its leadership position in history. It has been the leader in the past, it is the leader today, and it will always be the leader. That is an historical necessity. I do not agree with this view. It's true that it was the leader in the past and that it is the leader today. But to say that it will always be the leader shows a lack of flexibility. In my view, we must make preparations for advancing to pluralism. That refers to a spirit of reconciliation and concord. All of the patriotic forces must be brought brought together to build the country. But activities must be carried on in accord with the law. Thus, to have a multi-party system, we must revise the constitution and laws and gradually allow other parties and factions to carry on activities openly.

[QUE ME] There are many talented and brilliant people in Vietnam, but because they have different political views, the constitution has prevented them for participating in activities. We suggest that articles two and four of the constitution be repealed in order to create a basis for equal participation. What do you think?

[Bui Tin] I have traveled from the north to the south. Because of today's political conditions, no organization or group in the country wants to form a political party. Perhaps they don't dare or haven't thought about that. Or perhaps they have been constrained by the political conditions of the constitution and laws.

[QUE ME] The constitution stipulates that there is to be just one party and so who would dare request permission to establish another party! In order to save the country and help the people, would the communist party be bold enough to call for the participation of the various ethnic elements?

[Bui Tin] That's what I think must be done. The conditions must be prepared. I think that many of the explanations given are too rigid. The problem of one party or many parties is not the main problem. A single party can be democratic...

[QUE ME] That seems difficult.

[Bui Tin] ...and many parties can be dictatorial. An example is that a single party in Vietnam was democratic during the war, provided correct leadership, and won victory. In South Korea, there are now seven or eight parties but they are all dictatorial. I think that we must separate the general from the particular. In general, when there are many parties, there is competition, control, and opposition and democratic conditions can manifest themselves more clearly. In a number of places where the communist party has not gained power, the communist party is the one that is proposing initial pluralism. Such as in France....

[QUE ME] But once a communist party gains power, it suppresses pluralism, such as in Vietnam. We suggest repealing articles two and four of the constitution in order to restore pluralism. Do you agree?

[Bui Tin] I fully agree, but preparations must be made. The National Assembly must be persuaded. Things must be explained, and people must be mobilized in order to eliminate the idea of monopolization as frequently expressed in the rigid statements made by Nguyen Van Linh—yesterday, today, and tomorrow, historical necessity, and so on.

[QUE ME] In the present political situation, how can the National Assembly be persuaded?

[Bui Tin] That will be difficult. I think that there are several approaches. One is to raise people's cultural and political standards so that they understand democracy. People must be respected. Democracy is not something that is given by higher echelons or that is allowed by the party. No. People are born with the rights of citizens. They have democratic rights. Each citizen has those rights by birth. No one can give them to him. The second thing is to expand information in order to keep people in the country informed about life abroad so that they can draw comparisons and continually improve things. Many political organizations should be allowed to carry on activities in accord with the law. That is the only way to have broad democracy.

[QUE ME] Yes, people must have minimum freedoms such as freedom of speech and freedom of the press. You, better than anyone, know that those freedoms do not exist in Vietnam.

[Bui Tin] But as compared with before, things have improved. In the past, you could talk only about the successes. You couldn't say anything about the mistakes of the system. You couldn't even say the word corruption. But now, for the past four years, this has been discussed everywhere. In the past, you could talk only about what was good and superior. You couldn't mention the shortcomings, particularly the shortcomings of the cadres. Now, because of the situation and because there is widespread corruption and excessive smuggling, we have to talk about such things. The mass media must be used. That is showing more respect to readers and to the truth.

[QUE ME] We have the impression that since the end of 1988 and the beginning of 1989, debates and discussions about negative aspects in the press have been curtailed. Is that right?

[Bui Tin] You have probably read my article. I said that unfortunately, by 1989, steps had been taken to block renovation. We have even regressed. Why? Because people have become nervous. People are concerned that there will be anarchy and don't realize that things must be managed in order to bring about stronger democracy. People check foreigners more carefully and are more distrustful. People have written dissertations on why

socialism has collapsed in Eastern Europe. That is a very painful problem, one that must be analyzed carefully. Analysts put the blame on international activities, reactionaries, anti-communists, the church, the CIA, and so on. From this, they then conclude that we must be even more on guard against the imperialists, reactionaries, anti-communists, churches, and CIA. That is why things have been tightened. Analysts also say that this is right-wing deviation on the part of the Soviet leadership headed by Gorbachev. They say that they have surrendered or abandoned the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Because of this, everything has collapsed. There is no sense of responsibility toward the socialist countries, and countries have been encouraged to overthrow things. This has led to a second conclusion and second lesson: Today, the Communist Party of Vietnam is the protector of the principles of Marxism-Leninism—class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and democratic centralism. I think that that is a hasty evaluation. Instead, we must remain calm and expand democracy.

[QUE ME] Has the party evaluated things incorrectly?

[Bui Tin] I think so.

[QUE ME] What can be done to correct those mistakes?

[Bui Tin] I have suggested measures. People should not become nervous or act hastily. We must calmly expand democracy. We must not move backwards. We must open the door even wider. We can't open it half way and then shut it again. We must remain calm and have self-confidence and promote the democratic process in order to become a part of the world.

[QUE ME] If the party doesn't implement your suggestions, what will happen?

[Bui Tin] That's very difficult to say. I am very worried. Unless this is done, life will become even more polarized. If you don't open the door to other countries, you won't be able to receive investments or help. The world is very concerned about the poor and backward living conditions of the people. Here, I have seen that people are prepared. People are encouraging them to be more flexible. And in foreign affairs activities, people are trying to make the world community understand that Vietnam is not a disruptive factor but a stable and cooperative factor and no longer a disruptive factor. We must withdraw all our troops from Cambodia and let the world community worry about Cambodia. If we can make the world see that Vietnam is a stable and cooperative factor and not a disruptive factor in the zone, we will be able to win over people. To do this, domestically, we must expand democracy for artists and writers. Recently, Duong Thu Huong was criticized and then expelled from the party. That was excessive. Tran Xuan Bach was expelled, too, for talking about pluralism. He didn't talk about having many parties. All he talked about was pluralism. For that, he was expelled from the Central Committee. In Vietnam, I have openly stated that I disagree with excessive measures and techniques.

People regard such people as undemocratic. That is bad for Vietnam with respect to the world community. That will hinder investment and cooperation.

[QUE ME] By saying such things here, are you afraid of encountering difficulties?

[Bui Tin] What is there to fear! I have my own views. I have contacts with this and that country. I think that this is the best path. It can be said that this is the final chance. If we continue along the old path or restrict things, the situation will become very dangerous. Above all, Vietnam will remain isolated. It will not be possible to restore the country, and the standard of living will decline even more. In the past, those who said such things disappeared. If you push people to the wall, there will be changes. Such changes will bring disorder. There has already been too much bloodshed. We must avoid this at all costs. But how? I think that there must be a new approach. There must be a new policy and a new system of views on internal and external affairs.

[QUE ME] In an interview with BBC reporter Do Van, you made some preliminary remarks about pluralism. Does that pluralism include having many parties?

[Bui Tin] You should read that article again. I was very explicit. Perhaps I was too succinct. I said that in general, if there are many parties, there will be opposition, with the various parties keeping watch on each other. In such a situation, the conditions of democracy will be manifested more clearly. We must make preparations along that line. Naturally, we must not create many parties in a state of disorder. If organizations and groups sprout up like mushrooms and struggle against each, there will be turmoil and more disasters.

[QUE ME] During the period of French colonialism or during the feudal period, the regime was in such a state of "confusion." But a precondition for having a multi-party system is that the constitution and the laws must clearly stipulate that other parties and factions can carry on activities. If they do something wrong, they can be punished in accord with the law.

[Bui Tin] That's correct. That's right. That is a precondition. The conditions must be prepared. The constitution must be revised in order to advance toward a multi-party system. But in Vietnam, this is very difficult to accept. I know that, and so I have to take a circular route. It must be understood that almost all of the outstanding people in Vietnam today have joined the party. There is no other party for them to join.

[QUE ME] But that doesn't mean that those who have not joined the party are not outstanding people, does it?

[Bui Tin] No, it doesn't. I have said that. There are some people who have not joined, because they are fed up with things. It is a party, but it also has the characteristics of a front. It has been "diluted." It needs only a few hundred thousand [members], but it has 1.7 million. There are party members everywhere. Some places are

expanding the party, but the party members do not have a vanguard nature. They are ordinary civil servants who are very obedient. The party has become diluted.

[QUE ME] Even if all 1.7 million party members had a vanguard nature, this problem could still not be solved, because the problem has to do with the erroneous nature of socialism. What do you think?

[QUE ME] [as published] You have frequently talked about "national reconciliation and concord." But this is just a motto in principle or national feeling. In order to implement this, there must be a political solution. How can this political solution be implemented?

[Bui Tin] Yes, I have talked about that. If they accept that, they must hold a special political conference, revise the constitution, and appeal to people abroad. I am now very concerned. The Vietnamese living abroad are very good people, and most are making a living. But the tendency to oppose communism blindly is crazy. This violence and hatred....

[QUE ME] But this phenomenon is not widespread. It is limited to just a small number of elements. And the political parties, including the communist party, are not acting violently.

[Bui Tin] I have stated my views, but people don't agree. A number of honest people want to participate in building the country. We must open the door to these people.

[QUE ME] There is always a tendency toward violence. This comes from both directions, not from one direction alone.

[Bui Tin] They, too, have criticized me. Because they view me as a communist. They have issued conditions....

[QUE ME] To whom are you referring? The political movements with which you have been in contact?

[Bui Tin] No, I have not been in contact with anyone. This is the Vietnamese-language press in the United States. They feel that if you turn your back on communism, you must reject it. I have only shaken hands with them. What they don't realize is that in Vietnam, the outstanding people are all in the communist party. I must recover that fate. If I separate myself from the party, I will become an exile.

[QUE ME] But to what end? That is the question.

[Bui Tin] Correct. To recover that in order to enter the path of pluralism, the path of reconciliation, the path of reconciling many political forces in order to build and participate and catch up with the progressive democratic countries. [passage omitted]

[QUE ME] The communist party has more members than any previous party. You have said that there are many outstanding and patriotic people in the party. In

view of the fact that the country is in such dire straits today, why don't those outstanding people do something?

[Bui Tin] One reason is that people's intellectual standards are low. Eighty person of the party members live in rural areas. Several hundred thousand party members have high intellectual standards, and several hundred thousand party members are good workers. But the intellectual standards of party members in general are still low, and their cultural standards are low. Second, our country does not have a tradition of democracy. The influence of feudalism is still strong. People tend to respect those above them, obey orders, and be obedient. This means that people view those above them as their representative. There is no tradition of democracy. Citizens have not affirmed their positions. I have appealed to youths about this. They must think for themselves. They must not allow others to think for them when it concerns the country's affairs. They must not remain passive. They must raise their heads! [passage omitted]

[QUE ME] Having arrived at the end of theory like this, you undoubtedly realize what will take a long time in such a leadership circle.

[Bui Tin] There must be representation. The majority must be restored so that the majority can demand representation and demand to elect a new force.

[QUE ME] We will have to wait a long time for that.

[Bui Tin] Yes, but there is no other path. It may be soon, or it may be a long time away.

[QUE ME] Can the masses wait forever?

[Bui Tin] The present situation is forcing people to think and look for a path. People must make suggestions. This is why I have said that this is the final chance. This congress is the final chance. If the Seventh Congress does not make changes, there will be a disaster. [passage omitted]

[QUE ME] No newspaper has printed [your suggestions].

[Bui Tin] No newspaper dares print my proposals. But I recently heard that a number of newspapermen working for a number of newspapers in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City had asked permission to publish my proposals for the sake of debate, but higher echelons refused to grant permission. The editors-in-chief are afraid to publish them. It's absurd that I can publish these only aboard, only in Western newspapers. But I have my own methods. I have used the BBC radio. People have accused me of being manipulated by an imperialist radio station. But that is not the case. I have not been used. Rather, I have used a radio station that people used to call imperialist in order to win the loyalty of the broad masses quickly.

I have to take a circular route. I invited those in charge of the BBC to come see me. I signed a contract with Judy Stowe, the senior person responsible. I allowed them to

interview me on condition that I be allowed to see the questions first. I prepared my answers and recorded my responses. I did not allow them to do any editing. She agreed to my conditions. The entire interview runs for 180 minutes. It is being broadcast on Saturday and Sunday evenings. Yesterday, I heard that the BBC has been requested to broadcast the interview sooner instead of in short segments. Judy Stowe may broadcast it on Wednesdays, too. I have heard from home that on Saturday and Sunday evenings, it's as if an Italian soccer match were being broadcast. People congregate in houses to listen to me. At a number of colleges, the instructors and students have debated my proposals. I am not disheartened. I am not subjective. I think that things will move forward slowly. Once social opinion has been formed, the leadership will not be able to ignore this or close their eyes and ears. [passage omitted]

[QUE ME] Some people do not think that you are alone. They think that there are a number of others or a force in the party who are supporting you even though they are not doing so publicly.

[Bui Tin] There is no organization. I am completely self-reliant. I swear this on my honor. No individuals or groups are supporting me. Of course, when discussing things with this or that academic, instructor, or student, some issues happen to coincide with other issues. But there is no collective. We must find a path no matter how difficult or twisting the path. But it is the only path to bring about reconciliation.

[QUE ME] From talking with you, it seems that you still pin all your hopes on changing the party. There are 67 million people who have in effect been abandoned. In your view, can a single party complete the great tasks in Vietnam's present situation? Is it necessary to have a broader national alliance?

[Bui Tin] In the country today, what other organizations are there that could form an alliance! With the present constitution, how could there be organizations? And no one has requested that organizations be established.

[QUE ME] That's correct. People can't say anything when a single party has a monopoly as at present. But that does not mean that there are no mass opposition movements.

[Bui Tin] They are underground. Profound displeasure is widespread. There is a widespread crisis of confidence, but this is totally unorganized. No one can organize things. Thus, I think that my path is reasonable. It is difficult but realistic. People must understand the concrete conditions. [passage omitted]

[QUE ME] LE MONDE stated that the party has recalled you. Is that correct?

[Bui Tin] They have requested that I return. I have a heart condition. Last year, I had a heart attack in Hanoi. I did not think I would live. I am now undergoing treatment, but I will return.

[QUE ME] When?

[Bui Tin] In the near future.

[QUE ME] Meaning....

[Bui Tin] Perhaps in the next two months. I will return in the near future.

[QUE ME] What do you think about the Vietnamese community abroad?

[Bui Tin] I have very good feelings about them. There are many talented people who are working well. But there are a number who have made aggressive and insane attacks on communism. They advocate violence and pursuit, which is unrealistic. I don't think that that is necessary. That is outmoded now. That will just lead to death. I have met with Vo Dai Ton and many others. They, too, feel that this is hopeless and that that won't lead anywhere. How can they fight 1.2 million troops and several hundreds of thousands of security forces? The people are tired of war. I know that people hate the communists because of land reform and other things. But they must realize that fighting is useless. The reality is that there are 1.7 million party members. That is of some value. Among those are many outstanding, honest, and patriotic people. They have all joined the party. [passage omitted]

[QUE ME] In an interview with LE POINT in Paris, you said that if Ho Chi Minh had still been alive after 1975, the problem of the terrible reform camps in southern Vietnam would never have occurred. We are afraid that you have forgotten that it was Ho Chi Minh who established the system of reform camps in northern Vietnam beginning in 1961 through Resolution No. 49/NQ/TVQH. Tens of thousands of people were imprisoned in those reform camps.

[Bui Tin] Those reform camps were set up after the Nhan Van-Giai Pham affairs and other affairs.

[QUE ME] That means that reform camps were first used 30 years ago.

[Bui Tin] That's right. But there weren't that many of them. I still maintain that that is appropriate for people who resist. But these people were not rebels.

[QUE ME] How many people are still imprisoned in the reform camps?

[Bui Tin] Many have already been released. Many have been released in various phases.

[QUE ME] But how many still remain in the camps?

[Bui Tin] I don't know for sure. Perhaps a few thousand.

[QUE ME] Ten thousand? A hundred thousand?

[Bui Tin] A few thousand. Perhaps a few hundred. Probably just a few hundred. [Footnote 1] [The editorial staff received a letter from Bui Tin dated 2 January 1991

in which he emphasized this point: "Regarding your question yesterday about the number of political prisoners, I don't know the exact number. I can't even guess the number. The number may be in the hundreds, thousands, or even tens of thousands."]

[QUE ME] Article 11, Section IV, of the 1973 Paris Agreement forbids either side from taking revenge on people who cooperated with the enemy. But the power-holders in Hanoi have violated this agreement. The reform camps are a means of taking revenge. Do you think that they must publicly ask the people's forgiveness for this crime?

[Bui Tin] Yes, I do. They must apologize for all of the cases concerning Xet Lai and Nhan Van and act in accord with the law. They must publicly explain these injustices. They must explain what happened to Hoang Minh Chinh, Tran Dan, and Le Dat. Only if they are honest will they be able to regain the confidence of the intellectuals, writers, artists, and other people. They must not explain these injustices by saying that they were doing this on behalf of the people. No! Things must be handled in accord with the law if someone has committed a crime. If necessary, people can be prosecuted in order to clearly determine if they committed a crime. There must lawyers and rules of law.

[QUE ME] Is there rule of law in Vietnam?

[Bui Tin] During the past two years, 16 codes have been enacted. This is something new. In the past, there were no laws. This is a good basis, but it must be strengthened. Once laws have been enacted, they must be obeyed.

[QUE ME] Laws have been promulgated. But people still do not enjoy basic freedoms such as freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom of the press.

[Bui Tin] As compared with before, the Press Law is a major step forward. But I don't think that that is enough. A reporter in Bangkok who works for THE NATION went to Vietnam on the day that the Press Law was announced. He is a friend of mine. When he returned, he pointed out two things: The law now recognizes two things: The state can control the press tightly and prohibit private individuals from publishing newspapers. Period.

As compared with before, more press freedom is needed. Each newspaper must be a social organization. I don't think that that shows respect for people. What is public opinion? If you publish a reactionary newspaper, public opinion will reject your newspaper. People will turn their backs on you and oppose you.

[QUE ME] Recently, there were reports that during April and May, many arrests were made. Is that true?

[Bui Tin] Not many.

[QUE ME] But there were some, right?

[Bui Tin] Yes, there were. Some people were detained. There were cases of peasants demanding land. The problem has been solved. There were cases of people failing to repay loans and so on.

[QUE ME] Then it was not a matter of oppressing individuals and movements that wanted to rise up or organize demonstrations on the occasion of major holidays in April and May?

[Bui Tin] No, there haven't been any such movements.

[QUE ME] What is happening with the Resistance Club today?

[Bui Tin] It is being reorganized. I don't think that excessively heavy measures should be taken against Ta Ba Ton, Nguyen Ho, or the others.

[QUE ME] Have those two been arrested?

[Bui Tin] They are under surveillance. They had bad influence. They were too hasty. Rigidity is unnecessary. That creates a bad picture.

[QUE ME] How do your views differ from those of Duong Thu Huong?

[Bui Tin] As I have said, Duong Thu Huong was not treated properly. She spoke her mind and so people were mobilized and preparations were made to view her as someone with reactionary views. I regard that as a mob attack. I view that as an attempt to topple her in order to seize power.

On the day that Duong Thu Huong spoke at the Science Club in Ho Chi Minh City, one woman got up and said that if the situation changes, we will ask her to become president as in Czechoslovakia. Duong Thu Huong responded by thanking her but saying that she was not involved in political activities and that she had no desire for political power. But after that, people plotted to topple her and brand her as dishonest. I am sure that those who condemned her are just as loyal to the country as she is.

[QUE ME] Do you sympathize with Duong Thu Huong?

[Bui Tin] Yes, I do. Of course, I don't agree with her about everything. Her criticism of the Internationale was wrong. Her criticism was too harsh.

[QUE ME] Concerning the statements made by Duong Thu Huong that were printed in Issue 112 of QUE ME, besides her criticism of the Internationale, were there any other points with which you disagree?

[Bui Tin] The other points were excellent. Her statements about the illusions of socialism in "Dark Heavens" were excellent.

[QUE ME] Duong Thu Huong has gone very far in her criticisms. She has, for example, attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat, democratic centralism, and so on. Do you agree with her?

[Bui Tin] I regard those Marxist-Leninist views as tools of understanding. They are not dogmas. They are tools for research only. Their contemporaries had to solve problems with what they had. No prophet born 70 years ago can solve today's problems. They can only provide ideas that can be used to study things. These are not dogmas. This is not a new type of religion.

As for President Ho, I have great respect for him. I have great respect for him, because I had a personal relationship with him. I knew his family very well. But his teachings are now more than 20 years old. Those teachings cannot be viewed as solutions to today's problems. Today, the views of President Ho have been elevated to the thoughts of Ho Chi Minh! When Marx was alive, did he want to build Marxist theory? Similarly, Lenin did not want to be the founder of Leninism. All that is necessary is to study their honest virtues and flexible tactics in order to apply them to today's problems. Nothing should be regarded as unchangeable. Only the people of today can solve today's problems. If he was alive, he would certainly change. There have been countless changes about which neither President Ho nor Marx knew anything about. Did Lenin know what a jet airplane is? Did he know how the world would change? What is backward and passe should not be regarded as dogmas. All of the intellectual treasures of the revolutionaries and theoreticians should be regarded as tools of understanding to help study things. If I said this in Vietnam, they would accuse me of talking nonsense, because these are regarded as sacred and immutable dogmas. But intelligent people must use the knowledge of their forefathers as ideas for study. If those people were still alive, they, too, would change. No one can take our place. [passage omitted]

#### Article Stresses People Factor on Party Platform

912E0140A Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese  
22 Feb 91 p 1

[Article by Nguyen Anh Bac, Ministry of National Defense: "Giving Views on Draft Writings of Seventh Congress: Accentuate the People Factor in the Party Platform"]

[Text] The party's platform is the course-setting theoretical, ideological, and political foundation for all the party's activities in a definite period. The party's 1930 platform, with the reality of the national liberation revolution in our country, was affirmed as a revolutionary and scientific platform that met the aspirations of the people, conformed to objective law, and was the combat and triumphant banner of the national liberation cause.

Embarking on the socialist revolutionary stage, the plans for developing the economy and society over the past 50 years of this century have followed the socialist direction when determining the socialist revolutionary path. Our party only knew socialism through the Soviet Union

model and through the realities of socialist reform and socialist construction in the countries of Eastern Europe and China.

In the international background then, socialism and the socialist solutions countries moving to socialism applied scored tremendous achievements and solved extremely tough problems facing laboring people that capitalism had no way to solve.

These achievements of socialism were, in reality, the powerful source of inspiration and huge attraction for people of all people struggling for national independence, democracy and social progress.

The reality of socialist construction in our country was nonexistent. The law for the formation and development of this society in our country had not been revealed. The socialist revolutionary path and the necessary solutions for reforming and formulating the doctrine our party had to select then were no different than adopting and putting to use in our country's condition the model and solutions extant in socialist countries based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and derived from the special characteristics and specific condition of our country.

Thus, we could not avoid the simple and socialist realizations about the transitional period to socialism. In leadership, guidance, and implementation it is easy to contract subjectivism, voluntarism, rubber stamping, bureaucratism, and authoritarianism.

Now, when developing the platform, our party faces assorted theoretical and practical problems: building socialism in the north during peacetime, receiving tremendous international assistance during the war against invading American imperialists, the reality of 15 years of building socialism in our country, and very involved and rapid developments on the international scene, directly affecting our country's revolution. In particular are the very profound upheavals in Eastern Europe and the complex developments of "reorganizing in order to have even more socialisms" in many socialist countries. The frantic strike back by adversarial forces against socialism in all respects—economic, political, cultural, military, etc. The requirements and aspirations of laboring people posed to the socialist regime and to the party in power.

The draft of the platform has upheld basic viewpoints and principles on building socialism, has been discussed by cadres, party members, and people to perfect it, and was adopted at the Seventh Congress.

To ensure that this platform is involved in life, we suggest: continuing to refine it by tailoring it even more closely to reality and having it embody even more the requirements, aspirations, and desires of laboring people. There are some issues we would like to offer our views about in the draft platform.

1. The history of our people is one of staunch resistance against aggression closely connected to building the country. Our people, from one generation to the next,

long for independence and freedom, are eager for democracy and social justice, and value human rights. They resolutely struggle against oppression, enslavement, and unfair exploitation. Today, our people have no other desire than to build a society that responds to these splendid desires and quickly overcomes poverty and backwardness. Thus, when defining in the draft of the platform the social system that needs to be built, we ought to state unequivocally that it is the society that abolishes the system of man exploiting man, injustice and oppression, and respects laborers as the people who control the country and have a life of freedom, well-being, pleasure and happiness, and national independence firmly defended.

2. Since the inception of our party, the working class has truly been the leading class, together with farmers as the main force. In the draft of the platform our party continues to affirm the leading role of the working class, declaring that our party has full responsibility for the interests and life of the people, without weakening national solidarity. On the contrary, more and more there is a foundation for solidarity, solidarity, great solidarity.

3. Our people have a tradition of intense patriotism and national pride.

In the platform this time, we recommend full attention to educating the tradition of national pride, the outstanding gift of Vietnamese man, the respectful attitude and morality of forefathers, etc.

4. Our people from one generation to the next have great respect for talent and always place trust in the devotion to public good in those who, on behalf of the people, undertake work for the country and the people. But they also place very stringent demands on them. Before the people, these must be people with great purpose, high ability, and consummate intellect. In building the party and building the state structure, in training, using, and managing cadres. The party should be concerned with the views and aspirations of the people.

When the platform coincides with the aspirations and requirements of the people, it will be supported and successfully carried out by them.

## SOCIAL

### Lack of Calmness Seen in 1990 Literature Scene

912E0139A Hanoi NHAN DAN CHU NHAT  
in Vietnamese 3 Mar 91 p 10

[Article by Chu Giang: " '90 Literature Scene Is Never Calm"]

[Text] 1990 was a year that was never calm in literary life. It was a turbulent year, sometimes marked with fierce tension. Literary life has become more open, democratic, even excessively free sometimes. Different theoretical concepts and creative tendencies were

expressed. There was an atmosphere of discussions being channeled toward scholarly matters. In announcing its *literature prizes* the Writers Association not only mentioned the works that the public had highly evaluated but also expressed its own concept and attitude toward a rich but very complex literary life. Last year as in the last few years, public opinion was focusing its attention on the authors and works that did not win any prizes. But the explanation made by the association's secretary general, Vu Tu Nam, about the selection of prize winners was appropriate. Nguyen Minh Chau's short stories, *Co Lau* ('Lau' Grass), and *Tho Xuan Quynh* (Poems by Xuan Quynh) were selected to win prizes not because of the sorrows regarding the dead authors but because they were obviously valuable works. The selected novels—Huu Mai's *Ong Co Van* (*The Advisor*), Nguyen Tri Huan's *Chim En Bay* (*The Flying Swallow*), Doan Le's *Cuon Gia Pha De Lai* (*The Family Tree Book Left Behind*), Khoi Vu's *Loi Nguyen Hai Tram Nam* (*The 200-Year-Old Vow*), and so on—were works that deserved being winners. They were works that reflected a calm, composed, intellectual, and responsible tendency toward renovation. The literature prizes awarded to the subjects of revolutionary war and worker literature also pointed to a similar meaning of closeness. The authors of other works which had attracted the public's attention in the last few years did show aspects of their unique talent, but together they failed to become a regular literary phenomenon related to an annual literature prize. Nguyen Huy Thiep, Pham Thi Hoai, Ta Duy Anh, Nguyen Dau who made a comeback, and others were in this group of authors. However, the Writers Association could have awarded some prizes to first-time works or authors having prospective literary talent in order to show its timely evaluation and encouragement of new talents.

The literary works in 1990 which represent the second half of the 1980's can be divided into two main streams: the stream of renovated literature and the stream of commercial entertaining literature. The latter should not have been mentioned in a story on literature, but at present this kind of works is flooding the market and eclipsing in many aspects the authentic literary stream. Specifically there are books the contents of which are so antihumanistic and exert so bad an influence on social life that they have become literary cases. We must therefore strongly condemn them. Regrettably some talented writers who used to be highly evaluated and liked by readers have allowed their pens to be drawn into this commercial literary stream.

The stream of renovated literature, or the authentic literature if we can temporarily call it that, is again divided into two directions. The first one, which can be temporarily called the direction of reconsidering the reality, tends to go deeply into the fate of man in his relationships with the environment; reflects the shortcomings having to do with personalities and environment, the signs of depravity, the present conditions of the good and the evil, the good and the bad; and

expresses an awareness of and desire for reforming man and at the same time improving the environment in which he lives. The works of Nguyen Minh Chau, Nguyen Khai, Ma Van Khang, Ngo Ngoc Boi, Khuat Quang Thuy, Ong Van Tung, Chu Lai, Nguyen Kien, Ngoc Tu, and so on represent this direction.

The second direction of the renovated literary stream usually has the character of criticizing man and the reality, both now and in the past, in an extreme manner. The fate of individuals is described as the product of a social reality that is inhuman, dark, and brutal. Such literary inspiration points to the fact that its followers see only the present surface of life and fail to see the historical character of life. This writing direction is encouraged by an extreme concept of renovation which actually involves returning with new materials to the kind of critical literature, which readers are so familiar with, and clearly portraying a new concept of literature and society. The novels that the literary public frequently mentioned in 1990, such as Tran Manh Hao's *Ly Than* (*Separation*), Nguyen Quang Lap's *Nhung Manh Doi Den Trang* (*Black and White Life Fragments*), Duong Thu Huong's *Nhung Thien Duong Mu* (*Blind Paradises*), Dao Nguyen's *Mien Hoang Tuong* (*The Illusory Land*), and so on, belong to this writing direction. Naturally literature today must be concerned about man's fate, which is the object of literature. But the fate of individuals does not consist of transcendental, predestined, naturally existent pieces; instead, it is a sociohistorical phenomenon. Good children are products of mothers; spoiled grandchildren, grandmothers. Individuals, whether they are good or bad, reflect the community, society, reality of life as determining factors. Socialist literature reflects the fate of individuals in order to move toward a sense of awareness and feelings of social, community, and collective significance, to change the situation, and at the same time to reform man. The tendency to be extremely critical is but a part, a stage, a level of artistic creation. It should not be considered the representative banner of the concept of authentic literature.

Poetry is being a major question. The new mechanism widens the ability of many people to write and publish poems. To write love poems is now a movement, a custom, a noble and joyful hobby likened to buying a small branch full of peach flowers or a flower vase during the Tet. Poetry books abounded, but the ratio between the numbers of books and of poems and pages in each book was far from rational. Some 15, 20 poems, more or less than 100 pages made up a poetry book. Some authors last year published a few such poetry books. The good of that state of things was the democratic and open character. But it was a very great challenge. It was the promised land for those who wrote poems, for they would certainly reach their goal if they strived to do so; however, to win the heart of the Goddess of Poetry would not be easy. We should pay attention to the fact that the democratic atmosphere in poetry has sometimes become excessive. There appeared strange and weird



poetry books, in which poem writers sounded like they came from the *land of giants* and traveled to the *land of Lilliputians*, rather than stood in front of a respectable mankind, their compatriots, their fellow men, the men of their time and conditions. The publishing house, TRE, in 1990 printed at least three such poetry books: *Thơ Tình Bui Chi Vinh* (Bui Chi Vinh's Love Poems), Nguyen Quoc Chanh's *Đêm Mát Trôi Mọc* (The Night the Sun Rose), and Le Minh Quoc's *Ngày Mai Con Lại Mất Minh Toi* (Tomorrow Only I Will Remain). There are people who praise this kind of poetry. This is a democratic right in art, but this is also an artistic concept that needs to be raised in exchanges of ideas and discussions so as to be clarified. Love poetry has come to a point of saturation, amidst signs of being banal and dull. It is true that in the world and today's life, which are seething and in which men are being burned and boiled by all sorts of contradictions and conflicts, it is more for their own sake than for the readers' that poets only praise their lover's love, heart, body, and feelings, something that cannot be complained about. However, among today's love poems a new poetry book has just appeared. It is Hoang Cam's *Mưa Thuận Thành* (Rains in Thuận Thành), a book of good love poems and perhaps the most representative ones that have ever been selected by Hoang Cam for publication. Finally, one thing more needs to be said: From democratizing and normalizing poetry to making poetry ordinary and common, it will be difficult to avoid it if poets are not aware of it and readers are too easy and let themselves follow the poets' whim.

In the past year, critical reasoning became very active, sometimes caustic. That was a typical year in terms of critical reasoning. There appeared many learning concepts, ideas, attitudes, and sentiments that led to exchanges, debates, polemics. The literary essays, ideas, and speeches of Nguyen Huy Thiep, Pham Thi Hoai, Nguyen Ngoc, Hoang Ngoc Hien, Do Duc Hieu, Tran Dinh Su, and others were printed in SONG HUONG, DAT QUANG, VAN NGHE, TAP CHI VAN HOC CUA VIET, and so on (other ideas were printed in foreign newspapers and nonliterary group newsletters), and were topics for exchanges of ideas in NHAN DAN CHU NHAT, HANOI MOI CHU NHAT, VAN HOA NGHE THUAT, and TAP CHI VAN (Ho Chi Minh City Writers Association). These were not simple exchanges having to do with learning but rather debates aimed at asserting various artistic concepts and attitudes toward the literary life. These debates dealt with many basic literary matters, such as the relationships between literature-art and politics and between literature-art and reality, the past, socialist realism, literature and the yin-yang theory, literary terminology and literature, culture for reading and for argumentation, the new literary thinking now taking shape, and so on. These matters were not totally debated yet, nor did they lead to unanimity in a persuasive and friendly manner.

The ideas expressed in debates on socialist realism actually did not go into learning but mainly remained attitudes aimed at scrutinizing. Many ideas on this have

been offered lately, mostly in the spirit of criticizing, denying, and appealing for repentance, self-criticism, and so on. Nothing very exciting would result from them if the ideas expressed were really truthful, and there were self-repentance and good background about the matter being presented. It was true that we had not been able to resolve matters of scientific significance. We should seriously consider whether realism was true or false, and whether it was a doctrine, a theory or slogan, or a leading banner along with its proven results in the literatures of the former socialist world, say the Soviet literature. Today we should find out if it still lacked something or was totally wrong, if part of it was acceptable or it was completely backward, if it should be totally replaced or renovated. But regretfully, some critical comments which had just strongly denied things soon turned around and profusely praised them. Some people devoted both heart and mind to it and, even just recently, in the 1986-1987 period, excessively praised things, but in the subsequent period of 1989-1990 strongly rejected them; they called for repentance but had no self-consciousness, nor any argumentative presentation, which created a sudden void in public opinion leading to counterarguments. Consciousness is a process. A subsequent stage can be a continuation of the previous one, or vice versa. However, the scientific spirit requires that one fully explain this process of being conscious. If scientists do not present their thoughts in a systematic manner and with clear and open proof, how can they assist in making society's consciousness approach the truth? In science there is no straight and easy road; here both the heart and the mind can and must be straightforward and open, but not summary. If America has a great material value for man, *the egg of Columbus* also has the same precious value in the method of perception—one should not treat one side with respect and the other side with contempt.

In the past year there were very many symposiums on literature, poetry, prose, critical arguments, translation, and actual works. However, to report those activities in newspapers was far from sufficient. There were cases in which different opinions on the same literary work appeared on the same page of a newspaper (*Thơ Tình Bui Chi Vinh* (Bui Chi Vinh's Love Poems) in LAO DONG, *Ly Than* (Separation) in VAN NGHE, *Mien Hoang Tuong* (The Illusory Land) symposium organized by VAN NGHE). However, for the question of learning having to do with the yin-yang story, *literature* or *literary works*, and *the new literary thinking*, as well as for those works that presented topics for discussion, such as *Ly Than* or *Mien Hoang Tuong*, the fact that a few different opinions were printed could not mean that the matter was resolved.

And thus the literary life in 1990 was never calm; many topics appeared and many questions were raised, along with exchanges, discussions, debates, which were not numerous but not too few either. This state of things should continue more strongly, more vigorously in the coming year.

## Human Rights Committee Reports Arrests of Intellectuals

912E0149A Paris *QUE ME in Vietnamese Jan-Feb 91*  
p 11

[Article by the Vietnam Committee on Human Rights]

[Text] The Vietnam Committee on Human Rights would like to inform people about the groundless and illegal arrest of people carried out by communist powerholders at the end of November and throughout December 1990 in Saigon.

Hundreds of intellectuals, reporters, writers, and poets were arrested, but no reasons were given for their arrest. Based on our initial investigation, we have learned that the following people were arrested:

Reporter Le Van Tien, who writes under the pen name Nhu Phong. He was born in 1923 in Nam Dinh. The public security forces called him in for questioning on 14, 16, 18, 20, and 28 November 1990. On 20 December 1990, the public security forces surrounded his home at 67 Dinh Cong Trang, Subprecinct 4, Precinct 1, Saigon, and took him away. Tien was in prison from 4 April 1976 to 9 February 1988 in Phan Dang Luu and at Camp T 30. He has heart disease and is in great danger.

Nguyen Mau, originally Representative Quang Tin from 1971-1975. He was arrested on 4 December 1990 and taken to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (the former Police Command). On 5 December 1990, he was taken to No. 3 Bach Dang. Previously, he had been imprisoned at a reform camp from 1975 to 1985. He is now 76 years old. He has heart disease and was in very poor health even before his arrest.

To Thuy Yen, a poet, whose real name is Dinh Thanh Tien, was arrested in December 1990. He had been imprisoned at the central reform camp from 1975 to 1988.

Doan Viet Hoat, Ph.D., who earned a doctorate in education in the United States. He once served as the assistant head of the Van Hanh Institute of Colleges. He was arrested on 20 December 1990. He had been imprisoned at a reform prison from 1976 to 1988.

Pham Duc Kham, a former officer of the Republic of Vietnam. He was arrested at 0300 hours on 14 November 1990 in Saigon. He had been imprisoned at a reform prison from 1975 to 1987.

Also arrested during this campaign were Vuong Duc Le, a poet, Ho Nam, a reporter, Pham Thai Thuy, a reporter, and Chau Son.

The Vietnam Committee on Human Rights strongly opposes the illegal actions of the communist power holders in Vietnam and publicly condemns these human rights violations. We ask the families and friends of those arrested in November and December 1990 to provide additional details about the arrest of these people, the

locations where they are being held, and the names of those about whom we do not have information so that we can submit this matter at the general session of the UN Human Rights Commission to be held in Geneva in February and March 1991.

## BIOGRAPHIC

### Information on Vietnamese Personalities

91P30125A

[Editorial Report] The following information on Vietnamese personalities has been extracted from Vietnamese language sources published in Hanoi, unless otherwise indicated. An asterisk indicates that this is the first known press reference to this individual functioning in this capacity.

#### Duong Xuan An [ZUWOWNG XUAAN AN]

\*Vice chairman of the Economic, Planning and Budget Committee of the National Assembly; he was with an SRV delegation visiting Indonesia on 25 January 1991. (HANOI MOI 26 Jan 91 p 1)

#### Pham Quoc Bao [PHAMJ QUOOC BAOR]

\*SRV ambassador to Iraq; on 22 January 1991 he sent a report to Vietnam on Vietnamese workers in Iraq. (HANOI MOI 24 Jan 91 p 4)

#### Nguyen Viet Dung [NGUYEENX VIEETJ ZUNGX]

Secretary general of the State Council; on 10 February 1991 he accompanied State Council Chairman Vo Chi Cong on his visit to Lang Son Province. (HANOI MOI 12 Feb 91 p 1)

#### Duong Cong Da [ZUWOWNG COONG DAS]

\*Chairman of the People's Council, Lang Son Province; on 10 February 1991 he welcomed State Council Chairman Vo Chi Cong who was visiting Lang Son Province. (HANOI MOI 12 Feb 91 p 1)

#### Tran Thi Tam Dan [TRAANF THIJ TAAM DAN]

Vice chairman of the Hanoi People's Committee; on 24 January 1991 she was a member of a delegation to Laos. (HANOI MOI 24 Jan 91 p 1)

#### Tran Xuan Gia [TRAANF XUAAN GIAS]

\*Head of the Office of the Council of Ministers; on 26 January 1991 he spoke at a press conference held by the Council of Ministers in Ho Chi Minh City. (Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG 27 Jan 91 p 1)

#### Phan Hien [PHAN HIEENF]

Vice minister of culture, information, sports, and tourism; on 2 February 1991 he attended a ceremony held in Hanoi to celebrate the 10th founding anniversary

of the Public security newspapers CONG AN NHAN DAN. (HANOI MOI 9 Feb 91 p 4)

**Phan Van Hieu [PHAN VAWN HIEEUS]**

\*Chairman of the Fatherland Front in Song Be Province; recently he was elected to this position. (DAI DOAN KET 4-10 Dec 90 p 2)

**Le At Hoi [LEE AATS HOWIJ]**

Chairman of the People's Committee, Hanoi Municipality; on 2 February 1991 he attended the inauguration ceremony for the new Dong Xuan market in Hanoi. (NHAN DAN 4 Feb 91 p 1)

**Tran Ngoc Khanh [TRAANF NGOCJ KHANH]**

\*Acting CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] secretary of Song Be Province; recently he spoke at the 3rd congress held by the Fatherland Front of Song Be Province. (DAI DOAN KET 4-10 Dec 90 p 2)

**Nguyen Ngoc Le [NGUYEENX NGOCJ LEE]**

Vice chairman of the Hanoi People's Committee; on 6 February 1991 he visited the Union of Food Enterprises in (HALIMEX) in Hanoi. (HANOI MOI 9 Feb 91 p 1)

**Vu Khac Lien [VUX KHAWCS LIEEN]**

Vice minister of culture, information, sports and tourism; on 30 January 1991 he attended a meeting held by the Hanoi Tourism company. (HANOI MOI 31 Jan 91 p 1)

**Pham Loi [PHAMJ LOWIJ]**

Chairman of the Hanoi People's Council; on 6 February 1991 he visited the Union of Food Enterprises (HALIMEX) in Hanoi. (HANOI MOI 9 Feb 91 p 1)

**Tran Cong Man [TRAANF COONG MAAN]**

\*Vice chairman of the Vietnam Journalists Association; on 9 February 1991 he was present at an award ceremony held on the premises of HANOI MOI daily. (HANOI MOI 11 Feb 91 p 1)

**Tran Khac Minh [TRAANF KHAWCS MINH]**

\*Vice chairman of the Fatherland Front in Song Be Province; he was recently elected to this position. (DAI DOAN KET 4-10 Dec 90 p 2)

**Bui Thien Ngo [BUIF THIEENJ NGOOJ]**

Vice minister of interior; on 2 February 1991 he attended a ceremony held in Hanoi to celebrate the 10th founding anniversary of the public security newspaper CONG AN NHAN DAN. (HANOI MOI 9 Feb 91 p 4)

**Nguyen Van Nhuan [NGUYEENX VAWN NHUAANF]**

\*Vice chairman of the Fatherland Front in Song Be Province; he was recently elected to this position. (DAI DOAN KET 4-10 Dec 90 p 2)

**Le Quang Pham [LEE QUANG PHAAMR]**

\*Deputy head of the State Inspection Commission; on 26 January 1991 he spoke at a press conference held by the Council of Ministers in Ho Chi Minh City. (Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG 27 Jan 91 p 1)

**Pham Song [PHAMJ SONG]**

Minister of public health; \*chairman of the Vietnam-India Friendship Association; on 25 January 1991 he attended the ceremony marking the founding of the association. (HANOI MOI 26 Jan 91 p 4)

**Pham Van Thuc [PHAMJ VAWN THUWCJ]**

\*Director general of the Vietnam Agricultural Bank; recently he was appointed to the above position. (HANOI MOI 22 Jan 91 p 1)

**Luong Ngoc Toan [LUWOWNG NGOCJ TOANR]**

Vice minister of education; his article on education was published in the cited source. (GIAO VIEN NHAN DAN 7 Jan 91 p 3)

**Le Van Triet [LEE VAWN TRIETS]**

Vice minister of commerce; \*head of the Anti-smuggling Department for Southern Provinces; on 26 January 1991 he spoke at a press conference held in Ho Chi Minh City by the Council of Ministers. (Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG 27 Jan 91 p 1)

**Hoang Manh Tu [HOANGF MANHJ TU]**

\*SRV ambassador to the Philippines; on 9-10 January 1991 he was present at a seminar held in Manila on investment in the SRV. (Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG 17 Jan 91 p 1)

**Dao Duy Tung [DAO F TUNGF]**

Member of the CPV Politburo; member of the CPV Secretariat; recently he attended a meeting held in Hanoi to celebrate the 61st founding anniversary of the CPV. (NHAN DAN 4 Feb 91 p 1)

**Le Van Vien [LEE VAWN VIEENJ]**

\*Head of the External Relations Committee, Hanoi Municipality; on 24 January 1991 he was a member of a delegation to Laos. (HANOI MOI 24 Jan 91 p 1)

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